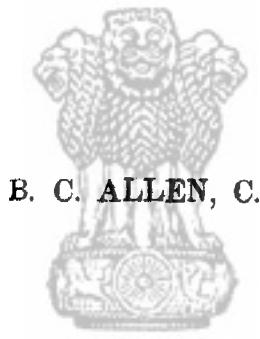


# ASSAM DISTRICT GAZETTEERS.

VOLUME V.

## Darrang.



B. C. ALLEN, C. S.

सत्यमेव जयते

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"THE BHARELL?"



## PREFACE.

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The Gazetteer of Darrang lacks what is generally associated with works of this nature *i. e.* a directory. There is, however, only one town in the district, and that town has been described at length. The great bulk of the population live on tea gardens or in villages which do not lend themselves to a detailed description, and a directory of these villages would be entirely out of place. A list of all the tea gardens and of all villages that are centres of trade has, however, been appended to the volume, and reference has, been made in the text to all villages which are noted for any special industry. It is hardly necessary to add that whenever the Province is referred to it is to the old Province of Assam as constituted in 1904 that reference is made. My acknowledgments are due to the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Lees, for his kindness in examining the work in proof.

August 1905.

सन्यामेव जयते

B. C. ALLEN.

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## CHAPTER I.

### PHYSICAL ASPECTS.

Area and boundaries—General appearance of district—Hills—Rivers  
—Geology—Climate—Earthquakes—Fauna.

The district of Darrang consists of a narrow strip of plain lying between the Himalayas and the Brahmaputra. It lies between  $26^{\circ} 12'$  and  $27^{\circ} 0'$  N. and  $91^{\circ} 42'$  and  $93^{\circ} 47'$  E., and is about 130 miles in length. At its eastern extremity the district is only about 12 miles broad. But, in its course towards the sea, the Brahmaputra gradually recedes further from the hills, and at Tezpur it is 28 miles as the crow flies from the northern boundary, while on the extreme west the plain is about 43 miles wide. The total area of the district is thus some 3,418 square miles. To the north, Darrang is bounded by Bhutan, Towang, a province of Thibet, and the hills occupied by the Aka and Dafla tribes. On the east, it adjoins Lakhimpur; on the south, it is separated by the Brahmaputra from Nowgong; and on the west it is bounded by Kamrup.

The Gohpur and Behali mauzas, at the eastern end of the district, are very sparsely peopled. Near the Brahmaputra, there is, as a rule, a belt of marshy country two or three miles in width, where sandy flats are covered with a dense growth of reeds and grass some ten to fifteen feet in height. There is very little tree growth in this region, though an occasional simul (*bombax malabaricum*) is to be seen; but here and there

Dimensions  
and bound-  
aries.

The eastern  
end of the  
district.

amongst the jungle are to be found *bils*, and stretches of rich grazing ground (*dolonis*) in which the cattle can wade knee deep in luscious grass. Near the trunk road, there are patches of cultivation, but there are places where for a considerable distance this great thoroughfare is shut in on either side by a wall of jungle. Further north the level rises, and the country lying at the foot of the hills is covered with dense evergreen forest.

**The Bish-nath plain.**

West of Behali comes the Bishnath plain, an elevated region which is of older geological formation than the other parts of the district. The high bank reaches right down to the Brahmaputra, without the intervening belt of inundated land, and the plain itself is too high for the growth of transplanted rice, so that most of it is covered with short turf. The forest still stretches along the foot of the hills, but a portion of it has been cleared and planted out with tea, and the lower land is green with waving rice.

**The country between Chutia and Orang.**

Between Chutia and the Bhareli there is a good deal of cultivation, and the typical scenery of Assam is to be seen. Rice is grown in great stretches or *pathars*, round which are placed the houses of the cultivators ; though it is not houses that one sees but the groves of feathery bamboos, slender palms, and broad-leaved plantains in which they are embedded. West of the Bhareli there is little but jungle till Tezpur itself is reached. Between Tezpur and the Gabharu civilization again reasserts itself, and near the town the country is one stretch of rice fields. Further north the forest has been felled and magnificent tea gardens

opened on the higher land, but west of the Gabbaru population again falls off. Here and there are patches of cultivation, but there are wide stretches of jungle—forest near the hills, high reeds and elephant grass along the Brahmaputra, and shorter grass in the centre of the plain.

In Mangaldai the country falls into three natural ~~Mangaldai.~~ divisions. Near the Brahmaputra there are jungle covered flats, on which the villagers raise crops of summer rice, pulse, and mustard. Further inland as the level rises, there is a rich expanse of rice land dotted over with groves of bamboos and palm trees; while to the north there is the high land inhabited by Kacharis, and now, to some extent, planted out with tea. It is a pleasant country which the Kacharis have selected for their home. The plain is covered with short springy turf, and, if in places the jungle is too high to allow a horseman to ride through it, it at any rate serves the useful purpose of affording cover to the partridge and the florican. A few miles to the north the mountains rise like a wall from the dead level of the plain, and in the winter time, the tops of the highest peaks are often flecked with snow. The soil is light and sandy, the roads are generally covered with short grass, and the traveller, as he makes his way along this upland country, frequently finds himself splashing through the fords which cross the numerous rivers that come hurrying from the hills. The Kachari villages are situated on the higher ground, but the pig-keeping propensities of their occupants are fatal to the

growth of trees, and, instead of being buried like the houses of the Assamese in a dense dankery of foliage, they stand up sharp and clear against the sky.

The whole of the district has much to appeal to the lover of the picturesque. To the south flows the mighty Brahmaputra, which, when rolling along in flood, seems more like a lake than a mere river. On the further bank the view is bounded by the Mikir Hills and the outlying portions of the Assam Range whose forest-clad sides shut in the plain with a soft blue wall. Along the north there is a wall of mountains. On the extreme east the outer range is but some 3,000 feet in height, but north of Tezpur, there is a hill not far beyond the frontier, whose summit is nearly 12,000 feet above the level of the sea. This, however, is as nothing in comparison with three mountains, ranging from 21,000 to 23,000 feet in height, whose snowy peaks stand out sharply in the cold blue sky of a winter's day, and make a fitting background to a charming scene.

**Mountain system.**

Though in most parts of the district the view on a clear day is bounded on either side by hills, there are no hills or mountains of any size within the actual frontiers of Darrang. The most considerable range is a small spur projecting from the Himalayas into the north of the Balipara mauza, round which the Bhareli makes its way into the plains. Two low hills in this range, Bhalukpang and Gosainloga, will be referred to in the following chapter, as the ruins of old forts have been found here buried in the jungle. Along the river front, near the station of Tezpur, there is a range of low hills

whose summits are from 300 to 450 feet above sea level. West of the steamer ghat is the Auguri Parbat, at whose foot is the small shrine of Bhairab Pod, and beyond it is the Dhenukhana hill, on which there are the ruins of stone buildings. East of Tezpur, there is the Bamuni hill on which are the remains of the magnificent stone temple described in the following chapter, while beyond it is the Bhairabi hill, where there is a small shrine sacred to Bhairabi Debi. Close by is a hillock which bears the ominous name of Manukata, for here, tradition has it, human sacrifices were offered in the days of native rule. A little to the east are the Bhomoraguri hills, and beyond them the Rudrapod, so called because in the bed of the Brahmaputra close by there is a rock bearing the imprint of Siva's (Rudra's) footprint. North of the Rudrapod is the Samdhara hill, on which, in Ahom days, there was a temple. At the south-east corner of the Barchola mauza is the Singri hill, famous for a temple reverenced by Hindus and Buddhists alike, and, near the Brahmaputra in the Patharughat talsil, there are eight or nine low hills, on one of which there is a shrine sacred to Ganesh. The only other hills which are found within the district are a few low spurs right on the northern frontier of Mangaldai.

The principal river of Darrang is the Brahmaputra, Rivers : the  
Brahma-  
putra. which flows right along its southern boundary. Even at this distance from its mouth, the Brahmaputra is an enormous river, and, during the rains, there is an unbroken stretch of water, about four miles in width, from Tezpur to the main bank of Nowgong. This is, however,

partly due to the fact that to see the main bank it is necessary to turn to some extent upstream, as a huge sand bank, or *chûr*, has formed opposite the town. These *chûrs* are a peculiar and somewhat objectionable feature in the river. Its waters come down loaded with sand and other matter in suspension, and a slight obstruction in the channel is sufficient to cause the sand to be deposited. In an incredibly short space of time an almond-shaped bank appears, which sometimes is washed away by the next flood, sometimes remains to form a considerable island. After a short time these islands are covered by a dense growth of jungle grass, and the main stream of the river not unfrequently changes its course, and shifts from side to side of the broad and sandy strath through which it makes its way.

**The Bhareli.**

<sup>11.</sup> The largest river in Darrang itself is the Bhareli, which rises in the Aka Hills and enters the district just to the north of Bhalukpong. It first flows east between two ranges of hills, and then turns sharply to the south, and flows a tortuous course to the Brahmaputra, which it joins about seven miles east of Tezpur town. The gorge through which the river makes its way is of great natural beauty. The hills covered with forest rise steeply from the water's edge, and the noble river hurries on over its rocky bed, now dashing down a rapid and foaming and boiling round a sunken rock, and anon lingering in still deep pools where the mahseer love to lie.

In its course through the plains the Bhareli, not unfrequently, overtops its banks, and, for the greater part of its way, it flows through jungle land. Its principal

tributaries are, on the left bank, the Upper, Khari, and Bar Dikrai, all of which come to it from the hills, and none of which flow for any distance through British territory. On the right bank there are the Upper and Lower Sonai and the Mansiri, which has numerous feeders from the Bhalukpang range. The Bhareli used originally to fall into the Brahmaputra close by the town of Tezpur, but some time prior to our occupation of the Province, it changed its course and shifted about five miles further east.

In addition to the Bhareli there are numerous other <sup>other</sup> <sub>rivers.</sub> rivers which carry off the drainage of the hills into the Brahmaputra. In the Gohpur mauza the principal stream is the Dubia or Kharo, which flows a southerly and westerly course down to the great river. Its largest tributary is the Balijan. The Behali mauza is watered by the Burai and the Bargang, both of which are considerable rivers ; and between the two there is a large number of small streams, or jans, which unite and fall into the Brahmaputra near Behali. In the Chutia tahsil there are no rivers of great size, and the largest streams are the Sadharu, the Ghiladhari, and the Dikrai. West of Tezpur the drainage south of the hills is collected in a small stream called the Dipota, then comes the Sonarupa or Gabharu, the Pachnai, the Dhansiri and the Mangaldai river with its tributary the Noanadi ; while on the extreme west, the Barnadi forms for a considerable part of its course the boundary between Darrang and Kamrup. All of these rivers flow a tortuous southerly course from the hills towards the Brahmaputra, and all of them are

fed by numerous minor streams, most of which rise inside the district boundary and collect the local drainage. The banks of all these rivers are alternately abrupt and sloping, as the current sets from one side to the other and cuts away the bank where it impinges. The channels are usually sandy, and, during the dry season, all except the Bhareli, the Dhansiri and the Barnadi are fordable. Care must, however, be exercised in essaying the passage, as quicksands occasionally form in the river bed. Like most hill streams they are subject to strong freshets, and after heavy rain the traveller is liable to be stopped by a sudden rise in the river. The Barnadi, Dhansiri, and Noanadi have all, like the Bhareli, changed their courses of recent years, and the villagers do not, as a rule, care to settle in the immediate proximity of the river. The result is that the banks are generally covered with high jungle grass. In the north of Mangaldai, some of the streams which issue from the Himalayas disappear for a time in the light sandy soil, and do not develop a regular channel till they have advanced some distance into the plain. The extent to which these rivers are used as trade routes is described in the section on communications.

**bils and  
marshes.**

There is a steady fall in the level of the district towards the Brahmaputra, and there is thus but little tendency for the drainage of the country to collect in lakes and marshes. In the whole of the *sadr* subdivision there are only three *bils* of sufficient size to justify their being sold as public fisheries, and in Mangaldai there are but six. These *bils* are shallow pools of no great extent which

form in depressions in the lower parts of the district, generally near the Brahmaputra. In the cold weather they are usually surrounded by a belt of rich green grass which affords the most splendid grazing, and the whole is shut in by a wall of high reeds and elephant grass some ten or fifteen feet in height.

Almost the whole of the district consists of an alluvial deposit of clay and sand in varying proportions, ranging from pure sand near the Brahmaputra to a clay so stiff that it is quite unfit for cultivation. The Bishnath plain and an elevated tract of land north of Tezpur known as the high bank are, apparently, the remains of an older alluvium which elsewhere has disappeared. The soil is here distinguished from that of the rest of the plain by its closer texture and reddish colour. The low hills near the Brahmaputra are of gneissic origin, and are largely composed of rocks which make an excellent building stone. Limestone of an inferior quality is found in the Barnadi, and travertine, containing as much as 90 per cent of lime, has been discovered just beyond the British frontier in the beds of the Nanai and Dhansiri rivers. Coal, also, is known to exist outside the northern boundary, in the gorges of the Bargang and the Dikal, but not, it is believed, in valuable quantities or of good quality\*. In the days of native rule gold used to be washed from the sands of the Bhareli, the Burai, and the Dhansiri, and it is said that each man would obtain about one ounce of gold in the three months, November to

\* Statistical Account of Assam, Vol. I, p. 103.

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January, during which the work was carried on. Almost as soon as the district came under British rule, the gold washers abandoned this special work, which had been entrusted to them by the Ahom Rajas, and it is said that even in 1835 very little gold was washed for, in spite of a strong demand for the precious metal. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Bhutias are said to have brought down as much as 200 ounces of gold every cold weather, but practically no gold is exported from the hills along the north at the present day.

**Climate.**

The climate of Darrang does not differ materially from that of the rest of Assam Proper. From the middle of November till the end of February the weather is all that could be desired. The total rainfall during that period is only about two inches, the sky is clear, the sun, though bright, has little power, and the air is cool and pleasant. In March the temperature begins to rise, but the copious showers of April, when six or seven inches of rain are usually recorded, effectually prevent the development of anything in any way resembling the hot weather of Upper India. Between May and September the rainfall is fairly heavy, the air becomes surcharged with moisture, and the damp heat is trying alike to Europeans and to natives. The average maximum shade temperature of these five months ranges from 86 to 90 degrees Fahrenheit, but, in an excessively humid atmosphere, even such a moderate degree of heat has a relaxing effect upon the constitution. In October, the temperature begins to fall and the nights are fairly cool, but

the winter does not actually set in till the middle of November. The average maximum and minimum temperature in each month will be found in Table I.

The average monthly rainfall at certain stations will be found in Table II. Near the hills, at Kherkheria on the west and at Gohpur on the east of the district, it is over 100 inches, while at Mangaldai it is only 70 and at Tezpur 73 inches. About two-thirds of the total rainfall of the year falls in the four months, May to August.

Darrang suffers little from destructive storms and <sup>Storms and floods.</sup> floods. The Brahmaputra and many of its tributaries occasionally overflow their banks, but the area subject to inundation is well known, and the villagers do not attempt to cultivate anything more than summer rice or cold weather crops in these flooded tracts. Hail storms occasionally do damage, especially on tea gardens, but destructive cyclones are quite unknown. Thunder storms are common in the rains, but they afford a welcome relief by cooling the overheated atmosphere. Dust storms never occur, as the country is so completely clothed in fresh green vegetation, that dust, the material of these unpleasing phenomena of nature, is not forthcoming.

But Darrang, like the rest of Assam, is a seismic area, <sup>Earth-  
quakes.</sup> and the crust of the earth from time to time gives evidence of its instability. The Ahom chronicles not unfrequently refer to serious earthquakes; and the army advancing under Mir Jumla to the invasion of Assam was much alarmed by the occurrence of one of these cataclysms of nature.

**The earthquake of 1897.**

The most serious earthquake on record was, however, the one which occurred on June 12th, 1897. This earthquake was felt over an area of 1,750,000 square miles, from Rangoon in the south-east to Kangra in the north-west, from the Himalayas to Masulipatam, and serious damage was done to masonry buildings over an area of 145,000 square miles\*. The area of maximum disturbance was a tract of country of the shape of a cocked hat, whose base line ran from Rangpur to Jaintiapur, while the top of the crown was near Barpeta. The effects of the shock in Mangaldai were serious. The dak bungalow and the residence of the Subdivisional Officer were wrecked, the walls of the cutchery and the treasury collapsed, and serious damage was done to the raised roads, which in places were shaken down to the level of the neighbouring fields. In Tezpur itself the dak bungalow, the Deputy Commissioner's bungalow, and the Planters Club were all seriously injured. The greater part of the northern and western walls of the jail were thrown down, the eastern wall of the church collapsed, and the treasury and cutchery both were injured. On the Tezpur-Balipara Railway the permanent way between Sessa and Rangapara was in places shaken level with the plain, and the rails were bent and twisted out of position. Fortunately, however, no loss of life occurred, and the actual damage done was small in comparison with the terrible ruin wrought in Gauhati and Shillong.

**Fauna.**

The wild animals of the district include elephants, rhinoceros, bison (*bos gaurus*), buffalo, tigers, leopards,

\* Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India, Vol. XXIX, p. 52.

bears, wild pig and different kinds of deer, of which the principal varieties are the sambar (*cervus unicolor*), the *burasingha* or swamp deer (*cervus duraucei*), the bog deer (*cervus porcinus*), the barking deer (*cervulus muntjac*) and the spotted deer (*cervus axis*).

Elephants are fairly common, especially near the hills, Elephants. and when the crops are ripening do much damage unless the numbers of the herds are regularly kept down. For this purpose the district is divided into seven mahals or tracts. The right to hunt in each mahal is sold by auction and the lessee is required to pay a royalty of Rs. 100 on every animal captured. The method usually employed is that known as *mela shikar*. Mahouts mounted on staunch and well-trained elephants pursue the herd which generally takes to flight. The chase is of a most arduous and exciting character. The great animals go crashing through the thickest jungle and over rough and treacherous ground at a surprising pace, and the hunter is liable to be torn by the beautiful but thorny cane brake, or, were he not very agile, to be swept from his seat by the boughs of an overhanging tree. After a time the younger animals begin to flag and lag behind, and it is then that the opportunity of the pursuer comes. Two hunters single out a likely beast, drive their elephants on either side, and deftly throw a noose over its neck. The two ends of the noose are firmly fastened to the *kunkis*, as the hunting elephants are called, and as they close in on either side, the captured animal is unable to escape, or to do much injury to his captors.

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who are generally considerably larger than their victim. The wild elephant is then brought back to camp where it is tied up for a time and gradually tamed.

Forty-six animals were caught in 1902-03, the last year in which the mahals were sold by the Deputy Commissioner. Rhinoceros live in the swamps that fringe the Brahmaputra, or near the hills, and are now extremely scarce. They breed slowly, and, as the horn is worth more than its weight in silver, and the flesh is prized as food, they present a tempting mark to the native hunter. Wild buffaloes are occasionally found in the same locality, and wild bulls sometimes serve the tame cows that are kept by the Nepalese on the Brahmaputra *churs*. Bison are generally found near the hills and in the neighbourhood of tree forest; tigers, leopards and bears are met with in almost every part of the district. Wild animals cause little loss of human life, but, in 1903, are said to have accounted for over four thousand head of cattle. The number of human beings killed in that year by different animals was as follows:—Elephants 2, tigers 12, bears 9, wild buffaloes 6, wild pigs 5, snakes 14, total 48. Rewards were at the same time paid for the destruction of 30 tigers, 66 leopards, and 17 bears.

Small game include wild geese and duck, snipe, florican (*sypheotis bengalensis*), black and marsh partridge, pheasants, jungle fowl, and hares.

## CHAPTER II.

## HISTORY.

Summary—The Kingdom of Kamarupa—Ban Raja—Pratapa and Arimatta—Identity of Tezpur with capital of Pala kings—The Koch kings—History of Darrang Rajas—The Ahoms—Koch and Muhammadan invasions—The Ahom kings—The Moamaria insurrection—Annexation of Assam by the British—Ahom government and social life—Frontier relations—History of the district under British administration—The Patharughat riots—Archæological remains—Chronological table.

It is doubtful whether at any period the whole of the **summary**. country, which is now known as the district of Darrang, was a separate polity under its own ruler, and its history has to be considered in connection with that of the various States of which from time to time it formed a part. It was originally included in the ancient Hindu kingdom of Kamarupa, which is mentioned in the Mahabharata, and which at one time occupied North-Eastern Bengal, and a great part of what is now known as the Province of Assam. The story of this kingdom dating, as it presumably does, from about the twelfth century B. C. is largely a matter of doubtful and fragmentary tradition, and we can hardly be said to know much of the history of Darrang before the beginning of the sixteenth century A. D., when it was incorporated in the territories of the Koch princes. The decline of the Koch kingdom was, however, as rapid as its rise, and at the beginning of the

seventeenth century the Ahoms, who had been called in to assist the Koch Raja against the Muhammadans, began to strengthen their hold upon the district. It is doubtful, moreover, whether at any time the sovereignty of the Koch kings extended to the east of the Bhareli, since, as far back as 1523, the Ahoms established a colony of Chutiyas on the left bank of that river. The Bhareli at this time seems to have been the western boundary of the Ahom territories on the north bank, as, in 1529, the Ahom king is said to have taken up his headquarters at Bishnath, and to have ordered his generals to plunder the country on the west of the Bhareli. The historian of Mir Jumla's invasion in 1661 refers to the Koch Raja of Darrang as a tributary of the Ahom king, and, in 1725, his territories only consisted of that portion of the Mangaldai subdivision which lies south of the Gohain Kamala Ali. When the Ahom power was shaken to its very foundations by the Moamaria insurrection, the Raja of that time, Krishna Narayan, endeavoured to assert his independence; but he was defeated in 1792 by Captain Welsh, and reduced again to the position of a tributary chief. From that time forward, Darrang continued under the rule of the Ahoms, as far as any form of rule can be said to have existed in that period of anarchy and confusion; and passed, with the rest of Assam, into the hands of the British when the Burmese were driven out of the valley in 1825.

**The king-  
dom of  
Kamarupa.** According to the *Yogini Tantra*, the kingdom of Kamarupa extended from the Karatoya river, on the **1200 B.C.** western boundaries of Rangpur, to the Dikrai in the **-1000 A.D.**

east of the Darrang district. It was divided into four portions, *i.e.*, Kamapith from the Karatoya to the Sankosh ; Ratnapith from the Sankosh to the Rupahi ; Suvarnapith from the Rupahi to the Bhareli ; and Sau-marpirth from the Bhareli to the Dikrai. The earliest king of Kamarupa of whom anything in particular is recorded is Narak, who is said to have been the son of the earth by Vishnu, and who defeated and slew his predecessor Ghatak. He established his capital at Pragjyotishpura, the modern Gauhati, and seems to have been a powerful and prosperous, though somewhat headstrong, prince. He was appointed the guardian of Kamakhya, and his name still lives amongst the people as the builder of the causeway up the southern face of the hill Nilachal, on which the temple of Kamakhya stands. He was succeeded by his son Bhagadatta, who is mentioned in the Mahabharata as fighting on the side of the Kauravas at the great battle of Kurukshetra ; and we thus seem justified in assuming that fully a thousand years before Christ, Darrang formed part of a powerful kingdom ruled by a line of non-Aryan princes.

It is not Narak, however, but Ban Raja whose name ~~Ban Raja~~ is most frequently in the mouths of the people of Darrang. Tradition says that his fortress stood on the site now occupied by the Deputy Commissioner's office, and that he built the magnificent temples, the ruins of which are still to be seen in the immediate vicinity of the town. His daughter was beloved by Anirudha, son of Krishna, and when Ban seized the amorous prince, he was

rescued by his father, who fought a bloody battle on the plain to the west of Tezpur.

Two large tanks in the neighbourhood are said to have been constructed by Ban, and one of them still bears the name of his prime minister Kumbhanda. The Akas to this day claim descent from this mighty prince, through his grandson Bhaluka, the remains of whose capital are still to be seen in the gorge of the Bhareli at Bhalukpang. Tezpur is not, however, the only town that claims to have been Ban Raja's capital. Similar pretensions are put forward for a place called Ban Raja's garh, a little to the south of Dinajpur. Local tradition, which in a matter of this kind is of very little value, is the only authority for connecting Ban Raja with the magnificent temple ruins near Tezpur ; and local tradition in this particular instance would seem to contradict itself, as it seems fairly clear that the fort at Bhalukpang and the temple at Tezpur cannot have been erected by the same dynasty or at the same period.

**The copper plates of the eleventh century.**

Further information with regard to the rulers of Kamrupa is given in certain copper plates which on palaeographical grounds have been assigned to the eleventh century A. D.\* These plates are valuable evidence as to the state of the country at the time at which they were engraved, but their account of the genealogy of the reigning king must obviously be received with some degree of caution. The dynasty of Narak is said to have been displaced by Cala Stambha, a Mlechha or foreign con-

\* For a description of these plates see J. A. S. B., Vol. LXVI, pp. 113 and 285, and Vol. LXVII, Pt. I, No. 1, p. 99.

queror, whose line ended in the person of Sri Harisa. Another family of foreign princes then came to the throne, the first of whom was Pralambha and the last Tyaga Singh. The dynasty of Narak was then restored in the person of Brahmapala. The invasion of the Mleechas and their subsequent expulsion not improbably corresponds with the great irruption of the Bodos, who, according to their own traditions, were at one time ruling at Gauhati and were subsequently driven eastwards to Dimapur, but the whole of this period is involved in great obscurity.

In 640 A. D. Hiuen Tsiang visited Assam, and the record of his travels affords a momentary glimpse of the conditions of the country ; a glimpse which is not unlike the view afforded by a flash of lightening on a dark and stormy night. The landscape, which has been shrouded in impenetrable gloom, is suddenly disclosed to view, and with equal rapidity is engulfed again in the blackest darkness ; and nothing definite is known of the fortunes of Assam and its inhabitants either immediately before or after the visit of the great Chinese traveller. The country seems to have advanced some distance on the path of civilization. The soil was deep and fertile, the towns surrounded by moats, the people fierce in appearance but upright and studious. Hinduism was the national religion, and, though Buddhism was not prohibited, its milder tenets had comparatively few followers.

Two other names, those of Pratapa and Arimatta, are connected with the legendary history of Darrang. <sup>Pratapa  
and  
Arimatta.</sup>

The visit of  
Hiuen  
Tsiang, 640  
A. D.

Pratapa is said to have belonged to the Nagsankar dynasty, who reigned between the third and seventh centuries A. D., though, as will subsequently be shown, very little reliance can be placed upon these dates. Pratapa's capital was situated at Ratnapur, which was subsequently engulfed by the Brahmaputra when it changed its course to form the Majuli; but he built a great fort at Pratapgarh, the remains of which are to be seen at the present day. Another story says that Pratapa and Bhaluka were the same, and that he received the latter name because he was begotten by Siva, in the form of a bear (*bhaluk*), on the daughter of a Kachari prime minister, who had fled to the north bank of the Brahmaputra to escape from the oppressions of his royal mistress. The girl was afterwards married by Somapal, the king of the country, who made her son his heir.

**Arimatta.**

Arimatta is said to have been the grandson of Pratapa, or, according to another account, the son of Pratapa's wife who had been raped by the Brahmaputra. He seems to have been a powerful prince, and is said to have thrown up the huge entrenchment which is still to be seen near Betna in Kamrup. The Majuligarh, in the Chutia mauza, is also attributed to him. He killed his father either accidentally out hunting, or in open war in ignorance of his identity, and attempted to make atonement by offering gold and jewels at Jagannath and also to the Ganges. His offerings were rejected, and he finally threw them into the waters of the Dikho and then drowned himself. According to another legend, he

was accidentally shot by his son Jangal, whose capital was situated in Nowgong. The obscurity in which the history of this time is veiled can, however, be measured from the fact that, while Pratapa's dynasty is said to have ended in the seventh century A. D., Arimatta is said to have lived in the thirteenth.

We are, however, treading upon more certain ground when dealing with the Bargaon plate, which on the evidence of palaeography has been assigned to the earlier half of the eleventh century A. D. It records the grant of a piece of land on the north bank of the Brahmaputra to a Brahman, and extols the virtues and magnificence of the donor, King Ratnapala, the son of the Brahma-pala, in whose person the line of Narak had been restored to the sovereignty of Kamrup.

The Bar-gaon plate of the eleventh century.

Ratnapala seems to have been a powerful prince, and his capital Durjaya on the Luhit is described in glowing terms. It was crowded with soldiers and merchants, and adorned with learned men, priests, and poets. A thousand plastered turrets hid the sun, and the strength of its ramparts were a source of mortification, or, as the inscription quaintly puts it, "pulmonary consumption," to various other mighty chiefs. The king studded the earth with his whitewashed temples and the pillar monuments of his victories. He was evidently no mere local princeling, as he obtained great wealth from his copper mines ; and there are no copper mines anywhere in the neighbourhood of Tezpur. Considerable allowance has to be made for the exuberance of the oriental imagination, but the precise injunctions issued to

the "people of the Brahman and other castes, headed by the *district revenue officers and their clerks*," with regard to the actual grant of land, suggest a systematic and well-organized Government. Similar conclusions are to be drawn from the following description of the land itself and of its easements. "Be it known to you that this land, together with its houses, paddy-fields, dry land, water, cattle-pastures, refuse-lands, etc., of whatever kind it may be, inclusive of any place within its borders, and freed from all nuisances on account of the fastening of elephants, the fastening of boats, the searching for thieves, the inflicting of punishments, the tenants' taxes, the imposts of various causes, and the pasturing of animals, such as elephants, horses, camels, cattle, buffaloes, goats and sheep, as set forth in this charter, is given to him for the sake of the good and the glory of my father and myself."

**Durjaya  
possibly  
identical  
with  
Tezpur.**

It seems far from improbable that Durjaya was located on the site of the present station of Tezpur. It was situated on the banks of the Brahmaputra, and the number of places in which a city could be built in the neighbourhood of that treacherous and shifting river is not large. The town was evidently not identical with Gauhati, as Ratnapala is distinctly described as being the lord of Pragjyotisha (Gauhati) but as living at Durjaya ; and it seems much more likely that Durjaya was situated at Tezpur than at Silghat or Bishnath, two of the few places in the valley where the rocks come down to the river's edge. If this is so, the magnificent stone temple, east of Tezpur, was probably constructed

by one of these Pala kings about the eleventh century A. D., and to this dynasty must be assigned the fine masonry remains which are still lying about the station in great profusion. These pillars and blocks of massive stone, which are enriched with fine carving, must evidently have been executed under the orders of a powerful prince, in whose capital the arts of civilization had made considerable progress, and this is a description which could not unsuitably be applied to the Pala kings.\* It is a somewhat humiliating reflection that a thousand years ago the material civilization of Tezpur seems to have been in many respects much in advance of that in existence at the present day, when neither artisans, merchants, or learned men are to be found amongst the Assamese. But the Pala princes, with their power and magnificence, passed away many centuries before the British obtained possession of Assam, and Darrang became for a time a sort of debatable land partly under Koch and partly under Ahom rule.

Little or nothing is known of the decline of the Pala <sup>The Koch</sup> kings of Durjaya, and it is doubtful whether Darrang <sup>kings.</sup> ever formed part of the territories of the Khyen kings of Kamatapur in Kuch Bihar, the last of whose line, Nilambar, was conquered by the Muhammadans in 1498 A. D. In the sixteenth century, the eastern portion of

\* Pala is a common title and it should be noted that these princes were not necessarily connected with the Pala kings of Bengal. An anonymous writer in the Calcutta Review, Vol. XLV, p. 521, suggests that the Tezpur temple may have been erected by Lalitaditya, a king of Kashmir, who, he says, invaded Assam in the middle of the eighth century A. D. This is, however, a mere hypothesis, which *prima facie* seems to be most improbable.

the district seems to have passed under the influence of the Ahoms, while west of the Bhareli the Koches were the dominant power.

The founder of the Koch kingdom was a Mech named Viswa Singh, who according to tradition was the son of Hira, the wife of one Haria Mandal, by Siva, who assumed the shape of her husband, and thus induced her to admit him to her embraces.\* Viswa Singh subdued the petty princes, who surrounded him, founded a magnificent city in Kuch Bihar and reduced his state to order. The whole population was divided up into different corps under officers of increasing dignity, a *thakuria* being appointed over every 20 coolies, a *saikia* over every 100, a *hazari* over 1,000, an *umra* over 3,000, and a *nawab* over 66,000. He took a census of his subjects and found that the number capable of bearing arms was 5,225,000, an obvious exaggeration. He is said to have marched against the Ahoms, but to have abandoned the expedition owing to the collapse of his commissariat, but the Ahom version which states that he was defeated and made tributary seems a more probable explanation of the failure of the expedition.

**Nar  
Narayan,  
1534-1584  
A. D.**

Viswa Singh died after a reign of 25 years, and was succeeded in 1534 A. D. by his son Malla Deva, who assumed the name of Nar Narayan. The reign of this prince represents the zenith of the Koch power, and his armies, which were led by his brother Sukladwaj or

\* The following account of the Koch kingdom and the Darrang Rajas is taken from an interesting paper on the Koch kings of Kamarupa by Mr. E. A. Gait, C. S., Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Volume LXII, Part 1, No. 4 of 1893.

Silarai, met with almost unvarying success. He first attacked the Ahoms, but, mindful of his father's failure, commenced his operations by building a great military road along the north bank of the Brahmaputra, and constructing tanks at regular intervals along it. The work was entrusted to his brother Gohain Kamala, and the road, much of which is still in existence, bears the name of Gohain Kamala Ali to the present day. Nar Narayan entered the Ahom capital Gargaon (the modern Nazira) and did not leave till he had received the submission of the Ahom king. The Kachari Raja and the Raja of Manipur were then reduced to the position of feudatory chiefs, and the kings of Jaintia, Tippera, and Sylhet conquered and slain. Further successes were obtained over the rulers of Khairam and Dimuria, but the tide of fortune turned when an attack was made on the kingdom of Gaur. The Koch army was routed and Silarai himself made prisoner. Nar Narayan would not, however, accept this defeat as final, and a few years later joined with the Emperor Akbar in a second attack upon the Pasha of Gaur. This enterprise was crowned with success, and Gaur was divided between the Emperor of Delhi and the Koch king.

Within the space of two generations the Koch kingdom had attained to an extraordinary height of power and prosperity, but its decline was as rapid as its rise. For a long time Nar Narayan had no male offspring, and Silarai's son, Raghu Rai, was regarded as his heir. When this boy was approaching manhood, one of his uncle's wives gave birth to a son called Lakshmi Narayan,

Decline of  
Koch King-  
dom,

Raghu Rai,  
1581-1593  
A. D.

and Raghu Rai, realizing that he had now no hope of succeeding to the throne, withdrew from the capital to Barnagar in the Barpeta subdivision of Kamrup. Nar Narayan endeavoured to compel him to return, but his soldiers were defeated and the king weakly resolved to divide his kingdom.\* The territory east of the Sankosh was made over to Raghu Rai, while Lakshmi Narayan received the part that lay west of that river. Raghu Rai continued to reside at Barnagar, and seems to have been much devoted to religious exercises.

**Parikshit,  
1593-1614  
A. D.** He was succeeded by his son Parikshit in 1593 A. D. who built a town at North Gauhati, and mounted cannon at Pandunath. War then broke out between Parikshit and his cousin Lakshmi Narayan † The latter was defeated but called in the Muhammadans to his aid, and on their arrival the situation was reversed. Mukarram Khan advanced with 6,000 horse, 12,000 foot, and 500 ships and took Parikshit's fort at Dhubri. The Koch king then essayed a naval engagement on the Gadadhar river, but was defeated, and retreated to Barnagar, where he surrendered in 1614 A.D., and was sent to the court of the Mughal Emperor

His brother Bali Narayan, or Baldeo as he is called by the Muhammadan historians, fled to the Ahoms, and the struggle between the two powers continued for some

\* According to Buchanan Hamilton, the kingdom was founded by Hajo, father of Hira and grandfather of Viswa Singh, and divided by Viswa Singh who allotted the portion east of the Sankosh to Sukhadwaj or Silarai, and that west of the river to Nar Narayan. On general grounds, however, this account seems to be less probable than that given in the body of the text.

† According to one version the quarrel dated from the time of Raghu Rai who declined to pay tribute after the death of Nar Narayan, and set up his own mint, Buranji No. 6, p. 123.

years with varying success. Ultimately the Koch king was completely crushed and he died at Singri in 1637 A.D.

From this time onward the power of the Darrang\* Bali Narayan, 1614-1637. Rajas steadily declined. Bali Narayan was succeeded by his son, Mahendra Narayan, who died in 1643. His son, Chandra Narayan, reigned till 1660, and was followed by his son, Surya Narayan, who is said to have been defeated by the Muhammadans in 1682, and taken captive to Delhi. The Raja's minor brother, Indra Narayan, was placed upon the throne, and during his reign the Ahoms strengthened their hold upon the district. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the country was surveyed under the orders of Sib Singh, with a view, no doubt, to the more precise assessment of tribute. When Indra Narayan's son, Aditya Narayan, succeeded in 1725, his kingdom had been reduced to the portion of the Mangaldai subdivision which lay south of the Gohain Kamala Ali, and a considerable part even of this small principality was wrested from him by his younger brother.

In 1792 A.D., when the Ahom kingdom was dis- Krishna Narayan revolts and is deposed. tracted by the bloody insurrection of the Moamarias, and when the king, Gaurinath, had been driven to Gauhati and was, as he himself expressed it, "like a laden boat in the act of sinking," Krishna Narayan, the Raja of Darrang, endeavoured to assert his independence. He hired sepoys from Bengal, and took up a position on the

\* This is the name by which they are generally known, but as a matter of fact the Darrang Rajas never seem to have ruled over the eastern part of the Darrang district.

north bank of the Brahmaputra in the neighbourhood of Gauhati. He was, however, easily defeated by Captain Welsh, who had been sent to the assistance of the Ahom Raja, and in 1805 was deposed by Kamaleswar Singh, Gaurinath's successor, at a ceremony for which he seems to have been somewhat unfairly required to pay a fee of Rs. 120.\* Samudra Narayan, a descendant of the same family, was appointed in his place, and was warned by the Ahom Raja that he must cherish the people entrusted to him, assist them in their troubles, and not look upon them as the mere instruments of his pleasure and the sources from which his revenue was drawn. He was also ordered to protect his frontier against the aggressions of the Bhutias, and was told to apply to the Ahom ministers for assistance, if he found himself unequal to the task imposed upon him.

**Darrang  
Rajas sink  
to the posi-  
tion of  
zamindars.**

Later on, the position of the Darrang Rajas was still further reduced, and instead of being tributaries, they were merely the agents of the Ahom king. In lieu of salary they were allowed the lands cultivated by their personal slaves and servants, which were confirmed to them at half the ordinary rates of revenue when the British came into occupation of the country. This privilege attached, however, to the Raja, and not to the land itself, and if he alienated any portion of his estates it became at once liable to assessment at full rates.

**The Ahoms.** In the preceding paragraphs it has been shown that the power of the Koches was not at any time firmly established in the east of Darrang, and it is doubtful

\* Buranji No. 9.

whether, even in Mangaldai, they could properly be described as independent princes after the death of Bali Narayan in 1637 A. D. It is, in fact, to the Ahoms that we must look for the seat of real sovereignty, during the three hundred years that preceded the cession of the Brahmaputra Valley to the British in 1826. These people were a Shan tribe from the kingdom of Pong in the upper valley of the Irawadi, who, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, crossed the Patkai and settled in the south of the territory which has since been formed into the districts of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur. The country at the foot of the hills was occupied by tribes of Morans and Borahis whom they easily subdued, and who were absorbed by intermarriage with their conquerors. To the west and north, however, they were confronted by far more powerful nations. Upper Assam was ruled by the Chutiyas, a tribe of Bodo origin, who are believed to have entered the valley from the north-east and to have conquered the Hindu kings whom they found in possession of the country. On the west there was the strong Kachari kingdom, with its capital at Dimapur. Early in the fourteenth century, the Ahoms became involved in war with the Chutiyas, but their final victory did not come till 1523 A. D., when the Chutiya king was defeated and his country annexed by Suhunmung, the "Dihingia Raja," who reigned from 1497—1539 A. D. This prince was successful in the west as well as in the north, and in 1536, he sacked Dimapur, killed the Kachari king, and compelled his successor to remove his capital to Mai-bang, on the northern slopes of the North Cachar Hills.

**Koch and  
Muhamma-  
dan inva-  
sions.**

The Ahoms were now supreme in Upper Assam, and it is evident that the eastern portion of Darrang was included in their territory, as in 1523 a large number of Chutiya families were deported to a place a little to the east of the Bhareli river, which bears the name Sootea or Chutia to the present day. They were still, however, exposed to danger from the Koch and Muhammadan powers in the west. In 1532, they defeated with great slaughter a Muhammadan invader named Turbuk on the banks of the Bhareli river ; but a few years later they were conquered by the Koch king, Nar Narayan, who occupied their capital Gargaon, the modern Nazira, and exacted tribute from the Ahom prince.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, they were again involved in war with the Muhammadans, as their king Pratap Singh declined to surrender Bali Narayan, the Koch prince, who had fled to him for protection, and who sagaciously pointed out that in their own interests it was most desirable that they should maintain a buffer state between themselves and the Muhammadans. Most of the fighting took place in Lower Assam, but in 1615 A. D., a Musalman army under Satrajit advanced as far as the Bhareli to avenge a Muhammadan trader, who had been put to death by the Ahom king. The Muhammadans, though at first successful, were subsequently defeated both on land and water with great slaughter. The Ahoms are said to have crossed the Bhareli by a bridge and to have turned the flank of their opponents. The bulk of the invaders were killed, and the few prisoners who were taken were subsequently put to death.

by the Ahom generals, much to the indignation of their ruler, who degraded his officers for this cold blooded murder.

The war then dragged on in Lower Assam, but in 1637 A. D., on the death of Bali Narayan, the Barnadi, which at present forms the western boundary of Darrang, was fixed as the frontier between the Muhammadan and Ahom territory. In 1658, the Ahoms took advantage of the confusion that ensued after the death of Shah Jehan to extend their arms to the Sankosh ; but three years later they were driven back by Mir Jumla, the Nawab of Dacca, who occupied Gargaon, and there concluded a treaty with the Ahom Raja, Sutumla, otherwise known as Jaiyadwaj Singh. In the course of their march up the valley the Muhammadans took the strong fort at Simlaghor\*, which seems to have been situated near Silghat, whereupon the Assamese evacuated the fort of Chamdara on the opposite bank of the Brahmaputra. A hill a little to the east of Tezpur is known as Chamdara at the present day, and there are the remains of a fine embankment running northwards from it to the Bhareli. The stars in their courses fought, however, on the Ahom side. The rains set in with a severity exceptional even in that rainy land ; the country was converted into a swamp, and disease made havoc of the Muhammadans crowded together in their water-logged camp. A large number of men were lost in the retreat down the valley, and by 1667, the Ahoms had again established themselves at

\* Blochman in J. A. S. B., Vol. XLI, Part 1, p. 71, places Simlaghor north of the Brahmaputra, but in this he is evidently mistaken.

Gauhati. A few years later this town was retaken by the Muhaminadans, but it was captured again by the Ahoms during the reign of Gadadhar Singh (1681—1695), and from that time onward Goalpara remained the frontier outpost of the Muhammadan dominions.

**Rudra Singh,**  
**1695-1714**  
**A. D.**

The zenith of the Ahom power was reached in the reign of Rudra Singh, who founded a new capital at Rangpur, and waged successful war against the Rajas of Cachar and Jaintia. Two large forces marched, the one through the North Cachar Hills, the other through the Jaintia Hills to Jaintiapur, and the general in command succeeded in arresting the Jaintia Raja and deported him to the Assam Valley. The Ahoms were, however, unable to impose their yoke upon the free and savage highlanders, who rose as one man and butchered the garrisons who had been left in a chain of forts across the Jaintia Hills. Rudra Singh was the first of the Ahom kings to publicly become the disciple of a Hindu priest, and after his death the power of the Ahom kingdom began steadily to decline.

**Sib Singh,**  
**1714-1744**  
**A. D.**

His son Sib Singh was a weak prince much under the influence of his wives, whose name has come down to posterity as excavator of the great tank near which the present station of Sibsagar (Sib's tank) stands.

Both he and his two successors were ardent Saktists and erected numerous temples and made liberal grants of land and *paiks* for the maintenance of their special form of Hinduism.

The reign of his successor Pramatta Singh was uneventful, and during the incumbency of the next prince, Rajeswar Singh, the signs of the decay of the Ahom power became all too clear. The Raja of Manipur was driven from his home and applied to the Ahom king for aid. Orders were issued for the despatch of an expedition, but the nobles, to whom the command was entrusted, excused themselves on various grounds and declined the proffered honour. The army lost its way when endeavouring to cross the Patkai, a large number of men perished, and though ultimately the Manipur Raja succeeded in regaining his dominions, it does not appear that the assistance of the Ahoms materially contributed towards his success.

Pramatta  
Singh, 1744  
— 1751.  
Rajeswar  
Singh,  
1751—  
1769.

Lakshmi Singh's reign was signalized by the outbreak of the Moamaria insurrection. The causes of this insurrection are not quite clear. According to the chroniclers, a certain Hathidharia Chungi with one Nahor Kachari came to offer their annual tribute of elephants to the king. The elephant which they tendered to the Borborua was a lean and sorry animal, and, as an expression of his disapproval, he cut off their hair and noses, flogged them, and drove them away. Boiling with indignation at this outrage, Nahor proceeded to the house of a Hari woman, whose daughter he espoused, and from whom he received a set of metal plates, covered with mystical incantations to confound the enemy. He then applied to the Moamaria gosain for help, which was readily afforded him, and the standard of revolt was raised. This is the account given by the Ahom chroniclers, and

Lakshmi  
Singh,  
1769—  
1780.  
The Mo-  
maria  
insur-  
rection.

it differs to some extent from the story as told by the Moamaria gosain at the present day. According to this authority, the leaders of the rebellion were two Moamarias named Nahor and Ragho Neogay, who, after they had been punished for failing to deliver the elephants required, went for assistance to their gosain. The gosain himself declined to listen to their proposals, but they succeeded in winning over his son Gagini Bardekha, who gave them a weapon consecrated with the magic plates of the Kalpataru. The Kalpataru was a sacred book which Anirudha is said to have obtained from Sankar Deb, though the Ahom chroniclers contemptuously assert that it was the property of a sweeper woman.

**Success and subsequent defeat of Moamarias.** From the very first the rebels carried all before them. The royal armies were defeated under circumstances which suggest that men and officers alike were guilty of gross incompetence and cowardice ; and Lakshmi Singh was driven from his capital and captured. The insurgents then proceeded to appoint Ramakanta, the son of Nahor, to be their Raja. Marauding parties harried the country on every side, and the misery of the common people was extreme. A report at last gained ground that orders had been issued for the execution of all the former officers of state, and this incited the adherents of the king to make one final effort. The signal for the attack is said to have been given by one of the wives of Lakshmi Singh. Ragho, who was one of the most influential men amongst the Moamarias, had forcibly taken her to wife, and, as he was bending down at the Bihu to offer his

largess to a dancing boy, she cut him down with a sword. On the death of their leader, the rebel forces were surprised and scattered, and a pitiless vengeance taken that spared neither age nor sex.\* The house of the Moamaria mahunt was surrounded, and almost the whole of his family was killed before his eyes, while all the officers appointed by the Moamarias were seized and beaten to death. The wives of the rebel prince were treated with savage cruelty. One of them was flogged to death, while two others had their ears and noses cut off and their eyes put out.

In 1780, Lakshmi Singh died and was succeeded by his son Gaurinath, in whose reign the Moamaria insurrection broke out anew, and with increased violence. At first, the king's troops met with some measure of success, and orders were issued outlawing the rebels and authorizing any person to kill any Moamaria he might meet, regardless of time, place, sex, or age. Such orders seem to have been only too well adapted to the temper of the people, and, according to the Ahom chronicler, "the villagers thereupon massacred the Moamarias with their wives and children without mercy." The rebels in their turn were not slow to make reprisals; they plundered the country on every side, and "the burning villages appeared like a wall of fire." The ordinary operations of agriculture were suspended, no harvests could be raised, and famine killed those whom the sword had spared. "The price of a katha of rice rose to one gold mohur, and men starved in crowds under the trees forsaking their wives and children."

Gaurinath  
Singh,  
1780-  
1795.  
Moamarias  
again vic-  
torious.

\* The Moamarias say that 790,000 members of their sect were killed, which is, no doubt, an oriental exaggeration.

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The highest Hindu castes are said to have eaten the flesh of cows, and dogs and jackals were devoured by the common people.

In 1786, the rebels under Bharat Singh inflicted a decisive defeat upon the royal troops, and took Rangpur, the capital, by storm. The king fled to Gauhati, and in his terror left even his wives behind him. His generals remained behind in Upper Assam and carried on the contest with varying success. Troops were despatched to their assistance from Manipur, but most of them were ambushed and cut up, and the survivors had no heart to carry on the struggle. The desolation of the country is thus described by the Ahom chronicler. "The Mataks harried the temples and the idols of the gods, and put to death all the sons and daughters of our people. For a great length of time our countrymen had no home, some took shelter in Bengal, some in Burma, some in the Dafla Hills and others in the fort of the Buragohain, who was fighting with the Mataks for years and months together." Bharat Singh ruled at Rangpur for upwards of six years and coins are extant which bear his name ; but in 1792, a small British force was sent to the assistance of the Ahom king under the command of Captain Welsh-Gauhati, which had been captured by a mob of Doms under a Bairagi, was retaken, Krishna Narayan, the rebellious Raja of Mangaldai, was subdued, and in March 1794, Rangpur was re-occupied after a decisive victory over the insurgents. Captain Welsh was then recalled, but the Ahom king was able to keep his enemies in check by the help of sepoys trained on the English system.

A few months after the departure of Captain Welsh, Gaurinath died, and was succeeded by his son Kamaleswar Singh. The country was still in a state of great disorder. The Dafas, not content with harrying the villages on the north bank, crossed the Brahmaputra and attacked the royal troops near Silghat, but were repulsed with considerable loss. Even Europeans were not safe, and a Mr. Raush\*, a merchant of Goalpara, who had extended his business operations to Darrang, was robbed and murdered by "naked Bengalis." These freebooters then occupied North Gauhati, but when they attempted to make good their position on the south bank, they were defeated with heavy loss by the royal troops near Pandughat. The Dafas again harried the Darrang district, and even enlisted Bengali sepoys in their service, but were ultimately conquered and dispersed. Victories were also obtained over the Moamarias and the Khamtis at the eastern end of the valley.

In 1809, Kamaleswar Singh was succeeded by his brother Chandra Kanta Singh. The Bor Phukan or viceroy of Gauhati incurred the suspicion of the Buragohain or prime minister, and fled to Calcutta and thence to Burma. At the beginning of 1816, a Burmese army crossed the Patkai and re-instated the Bor Phukan; but shortly after their withdrawal Chandra Kanta was deposed and Purandar Singh appointed in his stead. The banished monarch appealed to the Burmese, who, in 1818, returned

\*This Mr. Raush was the first European to interfere in the affairs of Assam. He sent 700 burkandazes to Gaurinath's assistance, but they were cut up to a man. A mass of masonry, the size of a small cottage, covers the remains of Mr. Raush's infant children at Goalpara.

Kamaleswar Singh, 1795  
- 1809 A.D.

Final collapse of the Ahom kingdom.

with a large force, and replaced him on the throne. They soon, however, made it clear that they intended to retain their hold upon Assam, and in 1820, Chandra Kanta fled to Goalpara, and from British territory began a series of abortive attempts to recover his lost kingdom. The Burmese were guilty of gross atrocities during their occupation of the country. The villages were plundered and burnt, and the people were compelled to seek shelter in the jungle. Women who fell into their hands were violated, with every circumstance of brutality, and the misery of the unfortunate Assamese was extreme. Fortunately for them, causes of quarrel had by this time arisen between the British and the Burmese. In 1824, war was declared by the British Government, and a force was sent up the valley of the Brahmaputra, which occupied Rangpur in January 1825, and compelled the Burmese to retire to their own territories, while in the following year, by the treaty of Yandaboo, Assam was ceded to the East India Company.

**Ahom  
administra-  
tion : the  
paik  
system.**

The above is but a brief account of the rise and fall of the Ahoms, but their history is more intimately connected with the Sibsagar district. It now remains to consider what is known of their social institutions, and the conditions under which those subject to them passed their lives.

The most striking feature in the economy of the Ahom state, and one which (to judge from their conduct since they came under our rule) must have been extremely repugnant to the people, was the system of enforced compulsory labour. The lower orders were divided up

into groups of three or four called *gots*, each individual being styled a *poua paik*. Over every twenty *gots* was placed an officer called *bara*, over every five *baras* a *sai-kia*, and over every ten *saikiyas* a *hazarika*. In theory one *paik* from each *got* was always employed on duty with the state, and, while so engaged, was supported by the other members. The Raja and his ministers had thus at their disposal a vast army of labourers to whom they paid no wages, and for whose maintenance they did not even have to make provision. It was this system which enabled the Ahom Rajas to construct the enormous tanks and great embankments, which remain to excite the envy of a generation, which has been compelled to import from other parts of India almost all the labour required for the development of the Province and its industries. Many of the works constructed were of undoubted utility, but many, on the other hand, were chiefly intended for the glorification of their designers. Few objects are more worthy of the attention of an enlightened Government than the supply of wholesome drinking water to the people. But the huge reservoirs, constructed by the Ahom kings, were out of all proportion to the population which could by any possibility have made use of them, while the close proximity in which these enormous tanks are placed is ample evidence that practical utility was not the object of their construction. On the other hand, embankments which were thrown up along the sides of some of the rivers near the capital, protected land which has become unculturable since they have fallen into disrepair. The duty of providing the various articles

required for the use of the king and the nobility was assigned to different groups, which were gradually beginning to assume the form of functional castes. The rapidity with which these groups abandoned their special occupations, as soon as the pressure of necessity was removed, is a clear indication of the reluctance with which they must have undertaken the duties entrusted to them.\*

**War.**

But though the common people seem to have been compelled to supply an unnecessary amount of labour in times of peace, it was when war was declared that their sufferings were most pronounced. Certain clans of *paiks* were called out, and called out, it would seem, in numbers that were in excess of the actual requirements of the case; an error which entails the most disastrous consequences when the campaign is carried on in a country where supplies are scarce and communications difficult.

According to the Ahom chronicler, nearly 40,000 troops were despatched during the reign of Rajeswar Singh to reinstate the Manipuri Raja on the *gadi*. Their guides, however, failed them, they lost their way in the Naga Hills, and about two-thirds of the soldiers perished, the mortality being chiefly due to famine and disease. The military dispositions even of Rudra Singh, one of their greatest princes, suggest a want of due deliberation in design and a feebleness and lack of method in execution.

\* The system of enforced labour was no doubt unpopular, but it had much to recommend it. It taxed the people in the one commodity of which they had enough and to spare, i.e., labour. It also developed them on the industrial side, and the material comfort of the Assamese would possibly have been greater at the present day if they had not all of them been allowed to devote themselves exclusively to agriculture.

In his expeditions against the Kachari and Jaintia Rajas, the Ahoms lost 3,243 persons, and the practical results obtained seem to have been insignificant. The descriptions of the campaigns against the Moamarias, given by the Ahom chroniclers, clearly show that the generals were often guilty of incompetence and cowardice, while the rank and file do not seem to have fully realized the dangers that beset a defeated army. Conditions such as these must of necessity have been disastrous to the private soldier.

The Muhammadan historians of the invasion of Mir Junla give, however, a more favourable account of the Ahom military dispositions.\* Their resources seem to have been considerable, and, in the course of the expedition, the Muhammadans captured 675 guns, one of which threw a ball three "mans" in weight, besides a large number of matchlocks and other field pieces. No less than 1,000 ships were taken, many of which could accommodate three or four score sailors ; and in the naval engagement which took place above Silghat in March 1662 A.D., the Assamese are said to have brought seven or eight hundred ships into action. The Ahoms are described as strongly built, quarrelsome, blood-thirsty, and courageous, but at the same time merciless, mean, and treacherous. They were more than equal to the Muhammadans in a foot encounter, but were much afraid of cavalry. This *corps d'élite* did not, however, exceed some 20,000 men, and

Muhamma-  
dans des-  
cribe  
Ahoms as  
brave sol-  
diers. ↳

\* An interesting account of this invasion will be found in J. A. S. B., XLI, Pt. 1, pages 49–100.

the ordinary villagers, who were pressed into the service, were ready to fling away their arms and take to flight at the slightest provocation.

**Uncertainty  
and arbit-  
rary  
character  
of Govern-  
ment.**

Another factor, which cannot but have re-acted unfavourably upon the common people, was the uncertainty of tenure under which both the ministers and king held office. A perusal of the Ahom chronicles leaves the reader with the impression that the ministers were continually being deprived of their portfolios and not unfrequently of life itself. Hardly less precarious was the position of the king, and in the short space of 33 years, between 1648 and 1681, no less than two monarchs were deposed, and seven came to a violent end. Good government, as we understand the term, must have been impossible under such conditions, and we may be sure that the people suffered from this constant change of rulers. Buchanan Hamilton, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, states that the administration of justice under Ahom rule was fairly liberal. Important trials were conducted in open court, the opinion of assessors was consulted, the evidence was recorded, and capital punishment was only inflicted under a written warrant from the king. It is true, no doubt, that few persons possessed the power of imposing the death sentence. But they were allowed to inflict punishments which the victim could hardly be expected to survive, and his position was not unlike that of the heretic delivered by the inquisition to the civil arm, with the request that "blood may not be shed."

Abundant evidence is available in the Ahom chronicles to show the arbitrary way in which the royal authority was exercised. The following instances are quoted from the reign of Pratap Singh (1611—1649 A. D.) A Kataki, or envoy charged with diplomatic relations with foreign powers, asked the Muhammadan commander on his frontier to supply him with two jars. His conduct was reported to the king, who immediately ordered him to be put to death. Another Kataki reported that he had heard from a down-country man that a Muhammadan force was advancing up the valley. The king enquired of the Kataki responsible for watching the movements of the enemy, whether this information was correct. This man declared that he was unable to obtain any confirmation of the rumour, whereupon the first Kataki was executed for presuming to meddle in matters with which he had no concern ; a proceeding which seems to have been hardly calculated to ensure the supply of timely and accurate information. Three merchants then endeavoured to establish friendly relations between the Nawab of Dacca and the Ahom king. The latter prince took umbrage at such unwarrantable interference in affairs of state, and ordered the merchants to be put to death. It subsequently appeared that the facts had not been correctly represented and the Bor Phukan and two other men responsible were promptly killed. A few years later, the king transported a large number of persons from the north to the south bank of the Brahmaputra, warning them that any one who attempted to revisit his former home would suffer the penalty of death. Instances  
of this.

with all his family "even to the child in the womb." Five hundred men attempted to return, as they wished, the chronicler informs us, to rear a brood of silkworms. The king had them arrested, and 300 were put to death, the remainder escaping in the darkness of the night.

**Savage punishments :  
an official blinded  
for not dismounting  
before his official  
superior.**

The following incident that occurred in the reign of Lakshmi Singh (1769—1780) is typical of the uncertainties of the time. One Ramnath Bhorali Borua, an officer of state, had the presumption to appear mounted in the presence of his official superior the Borborua. A complaint was promptly laid before the king, who directed that both Ramnath and his brother should be deprived of sight. The injured man was not, however, destitute of friends, and came with his complaint to the Kalita Phukan, who had his private reasons for desiring the downfall of the Borborua. The Phukan went to the king, poisoned his mind against his minister with the suggestion that a conspiracy was on foot, a suggestion which in those days must always have seemed plausible enough, and, in a short time, the heads of the haughty Borborua, his two uncles, and his brother, were rolling in the dust. It is needless to multiply instances of the savage violence of the times, but the different forms of punishment in vogue call for some remark. Where life was spared, the ears, nose, and hair were cut off, the eyes put out, or the knee pans torn from the legs, the last named penalty generally proving fatal. Persons sentenced to death were hung, impaled, hewn in pieces, crushed between two wooden cylinders like sugar-cane in a mill, sawn asunder, burnt alive, fried in oil,

or, if the element of indignity was desired, shorn of their hands and feet and placed in holes, which were then utilized as latrines.

In the seventeenth century, it was no uncommon thing to compel conspirators to eat their own flesh, and more than one case is quoted, in which the father was forced to eat the liver of his son, a meal that was usually his last in this world. Punishment, too, was not restricted to the actual offender, but his wretched wife was liable to be handed over to the embraces of a Hari. Methods such as these could hardly fail to have a terrifying effect on much more hardened criminals than the Assamese.

The Ahoms, even after they became a powerful nation, seem to have adhered to a simple style of life, in which there was little of extravagance or luxury. They have left few masonry memorials of their rule; the Raja's palace is almost invariably referred to as a "planked house," and, according to Buchanan Hamilton, the king alone was allowed to erect an edifice of brick. Shoes might not be worn except by the special license of the king, bedsteads and curtains were only to be found in the houses of the rich, and all but the most important visitors to a noble's house sat on the bare ground. The account given of the Raja's palace at Gargaon by the historian of Mir Jumla's invasion is pitched in a more exalted key. Twelve thousand workmen had been engaged on its construction for a year, and the audience hall was 120 cubits long by 30 wide. "The ornaments and curiosities with which the whole woodwork of the house was filled defy all description: nowhere in the

Social life  
amongst  
Ahoms.

whole inhabited world would you find a house equal to it in strength, ornamentation, and pictures." The absence of all references to these wonders in the Ahom histories suggests, however, that the Muhammadans were anxious to magnify the power and majesty of the prince they had subdued.

The native chroniclers are naturally most concerned with the wars and religious festivals which bulked so largely in the eyes of the historians of the day, and with the rise and fall of successive families of ministers. It is only incidentally that light is thrown on the social conditions of the people. The kings seem to have indulged in frequent tours about their territories, the itinerary usually followed being Rangpur, Sonarnagar, Tengabari, Dergaon, Jaliarang, Bornagar, Bishnath, and Kaliabar. They were fond of fishing and shooting and fully appreciated the excitement to be obtained from the hunting of wild elephants. On the occasion of coronations and royal weddings, a week was generally devoted to the festivities, which seem, however, to have consisted for the most part of prolonged feasts, accompanied by much unmelodious music. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, acrobats and jugglers were imported from Bengal, who amused their royal patrons with tricks which are still shown to the tourist on the P. & O. Kamal eswar Singh visited in state the two principal *sattras* of Auniati and Dakhinpat, and was entertained with all his retinue by the gosains. The chronicler quaintly tells us that the lunch at Dakhinpat gave greater satisfaction

than the one at Auniati ; but does not say whether this was due to the superior skill of the Dakhinpatia cook or to the greater beauty of the *sattrā* precincts.

The first Hindus to influence the Ahom kings were Saktists, and Pratap Singh (1611—1649) persecuted the Vaishnavites, one of whose leaders had converted his son to Hinduism. The disciples of the gosains were seized, human ordure was placed on their foreheads, and they were degraded to the sweeper caste. To be found in the possession of religious books meant death, not only to the actual owner, but to every member of his family. Even Pratap Singh's spiritual pastors were not spared, and he denounced the new religion which, in spite of the adherence of the Raja, had not been able to save from death his own beloved son. He then assembled 700 Brahmans, ostensibly to perform a festival, and, as a punishment for their incompetency, degraded them to the status of *paiks*. These persecutions were continued by Gadadhar Singh, who, in 1692, plundered the treasure houses of the Vaishnavite gosains, and cast the idols into the water. No respect was shown even to the sacred head of the Auniati *sattrā*, and he was driven from his home to Tejikhat. He fared, however, better than the gosain of Dakhinpat, who had his eyes put out and his nose cut off, while many Hindu priests were put to death. A policy of extermination seems in fact to have been inaugurated, and, according to one chronicler, orders were issued for the destruction of every Hindu child regardless of sex and age. The king had large quantities of pork, beef, and

Attitude of  
Ahoms to-  
wards Hin-  
duism.  
Savage per-  
secution  
of Vaishna-  
vism.

fowls, cooked by men of the Dom caste, and compelled Kewats, Koches, Doms, and Haris to partake of this unholy food.

This policy of oppression was reversed during the reign of Rudra Singh, his son, who was publicly admitted as a disciple of the Auniati gosain ; and, from this time forward, the influence of the priests seems to have increased.

During the Moamaria insurrection the religious orders again fell upon evil times. The rebel king confined the persons of the four principal gosains and extorted Rs. 8,000 each from Auniati and Dakhinpat, and Rs. 4,000 each from Garamur and Kamalabari. Religion was degraded by the promulgation of an order that any person could be initiated on payment of a betel-nut, and the common people availed themselves in crowds of this indulgence. Subsequently, in the reign of Gaurinath Singh, the Moamarias attacked the Garamur *sattra*, burned it to the ground, slew a large number of the disciples and nearly killed the gosain himself. His successor Kamaleswar Singh (1795—1809) found himself unable to pay the sepoys whose services were indispensable for the maintenance of some sort of order in the kingdom. Following the example of other monarchs, he called upon the church to supply the funds for the support of the temporal power. Contributions were levied on all the mahunts and the demands of the soldiers were satisfied.

**Laxity of  
Ahom Hin-  
duism.**

But, though converted to Hinduism, the Ahoms found the restrictions of their new religion irksome; and their

gosains, with the tact which they display towards their converts of the present day, allowed their new disciples a considerable degree of latitude. Rudra Singh, though he had been publicly admitted to the church by the Auniati gosain, feasted his followers on buffaloes and pigs on the occasion of his father's funeral ; while not only buffaloes but even cows found a place in the menu of his coronation banquet. At the time of the first Moamaria insurrection, the rebel chief made overtures to Lakshmi Singh, and offered him, apparently in good faith, a pig for supper. A present such as this clearly shows that even towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Hinduism of the Ahom kings was one of the most liberal variants of that catholic creed. Before taking any decisive step, it was the practice to refer, not only to the Brahmans and Ganaks, but also to the old Ahom priests the Deodhais and Bailongs. These venerable men were required to consult the omens, by studying the way in which a dying fowl crossed its legs ; a system of divination which is in vogue amongst many of the hill tribes of Assam to the present day. The restrictions of caste were evidently somewhat lax, as we hear that the Moamaria mahunt had an intrigue with a Hari woman, while at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the viceroy of Gauhati took a fisher girl for his mistress; a breach of the *convenances* for which, it should be added, he was deposed.

The influence of the Muhammadans in Assam Proper The position of women. was so slight that the low view they professed to take of the other sex had little or no effect upon the general

population. The Ahoms, like their Burmese ancestors, held their womenfolk in honour, and, even at the present day, the purdah and all that it implies is almost unknown in the country inhabited by the Assamese. The Ahom princesses seem to have taken a prominent part on ceremonial occasions, and not unfrequently exercised considerable influence on affairs of state. In the middle of the seventeenth century, two of the queens almost usurped the reins of government, and, according to the Ahom chronicler, "their words were law." When called to account by the successor of their husband, they proudly stated that they had been of great service to the king at a time when he was ignorant of the way in which he should behave, whether when "eating, drinking, sitting, sleeping, or at council." Sib Singh (1714--1744) is said to have abdicated in favour of his queens, hoping thereby to defeat a prophecy which declared that he would be deposed, and coins have been found bearing the names of four of these princesses. The mother of Lakshmi Singh dug a tank, and Gaurinath entrusted to his stepmother the control of the Khangia mel, and consulted with his mother about affairs of state. It was not, however, only the princesses of royal blood who concerned themselves with public matters. At the time of the Moamaria insurrection, one Luki Rani was sent against the rebels ; and the victory over Turbuk in 1532 is partly ascribed to the courageous action of the widow of the Buragohain, who had been killed in a previous engagement by the Muhammadans. Desperate at the loss of her husband, she put

on armour and rode into the ranks of the enemy to avenge his death. No mercy was shown her and she fell, pierced with spears ; but her example emboldened the Ahoms, who at once advanced to the attack and defeated the Musalmans with great slaughter.

In estimating the effects of British rule it is necessary to form a clear idea of the state of the Province at the time when it passed into our possession, and first it must be pointed out that the British did not conquer Assam in the sense which is usually assigned to that word. The native system of government had completely broken down, the valley was in the hands of cruel and barbarous foreigners, and it was not as conquerors, but as protectors and avengers that the English came. They were certainly not inspired by any lust for land. For some time after the expulsion of the Burmese, the East India Company were doubtful whether they would retain their latest acquisition, and an attempt was made to administer the upper portion of the valley through a descendant of the Ahom kings.

Condition  
of Province  
at time of  
cession to  
the British.

The condition in which we found the country was lamentable in the extreme. For fully fifty years, the Province had been given over to desolation and anarchy. Life, property, honour were no longer safe, and the people in their misery had even abandoned the cultivation of the soil, on which they depended for their very livelihood. Bands of pirates used to raid up the valleys of the Dhansiri and Kakadanga, and return with their boats laden with booty, leaving ruin, death, and desolation in their wake. The hill tribes were no longer

kept in order, and the Daflas descended and harried the submontane tracts, and even extended their depredations to the south of the Brahmaputra. The treatment meted out to the unfortunate villagers can be judged from the protest made by the hillmen to Rajeswar Singh shortly before the collapse of the Ahom government, when they begged him "not to pull out the bones from the mouth of dogs." Buchanan Hamilton, writing in 1808 A. D., states that north of the Brahmaputra "there is no form of justice. Each power sends a force which takes as much as possible from the cultivator."

**Native  
testimony  
on this  
point.**

The memories of this miserable time survived long after it had passed away. In 1853, an Assamese gentleman, Srijut Ananda Ram Dhekial Phukan, wrote as follows to Mr. Moffatt Mills.

"Our countrymen hailed the day on which British supremacy was proclaimed in the Province of Assam, and entertained sanguine expectations of peace and happiness from the rule of Britain. For several years antecedent to the annexation, the Province groaned under the oppression and lawless tyranny of the Burmese, whose barbarous and inhuman policy depopulated the country, and destroyed more than one half of the population, which had already been thinned by intestine commotions and repeated civil wars. We cannot but acknowledge, with feelings of gratitude, that the expectations which the Assamese had formed of the happy and beneficial results of the Government of England, have, in a great measure, been fulfilled; and the people of Assam have now acquired a degree of confidence in the safety of their lives and property which they never had the happiness of feeling for ages past."

Whatever errors have been committed by the British Government, and it is too much to hope that no mistakes of policy have been made during an administration of

nearly eighty years, there can be no question that the introduction of a settled form of government has been of the greatest benefit to the immense mass of the people to whom it has been extended.

The history of the district under British rule has been very uneventful, and, before referring to such incidents as have occurred, it will be desirable to touch briefly on our dealings with the various tribes inhabiting the hills that bound it on the north. The history of these tribes down to the year 1884 will be found in fuller detail in the North-East Frontier of Bengal by Sir Alexander Mackenzie.

*The north-  
ern frontier  
—Bhutani.*

On the north-west frontier of the district lie two duars, Khaling and Buriguma, to which claims were laid by the Bhutias at the time when we took over the administration of the Province. These claims dated from the time of the Ahom Rajas. Originally the boundary of this debatable land lay at some distance to the north of the Gohain Kamala Ali, but the Bhutias took advantage of the weakness of the Ahom government, and occupied territory even to the south of that great road. In 1810, they were driven back, and compelled to pay Rs.20,000 worth of goods as compensation. But during the troublous times that followed they advanced again, and, in 1835, were in occupation of villages south of the Gohain Kamala Ali\*.

A curious system of dual control was inherited from the days of native rule, under which the Assam Government occupied the two duars from July to November,

\* Lieutenant Mathie's report, para 44.

and received from the Bhutias as rent for this tract and for the five duars in North Kamrup a certain quantity of yaks' tails, ponies, musk, gold, etc., of an estimated value of Rs. 4,785 per annum. This arrangement, it need hardly be said, proved most unsatisfactory. The Bhutias oppressed our villagers, and the duars acted as an Alsatia for all the criminals of the district, who could easily retire into the hills during the four months of our occupation. In 1841, the seven duars were definitely annexed, and Rs. 10,000 per annum was offered to the Bhutias as compensation for the loss of such rights as they possessed. The conduct of the hillmen still continued to give ground for just complaint, and an expedition had at last to be despatched into their territory. In 1865, on the conclusion of this war, the whole of the Assam and Bengal duars were annexed, but compensation, which now amounts to Rs. 50,000 per annum, is paid to the hillmen, so long as they remain of good behaviour.

**Towang.** East of Bhutan, is the province of Towang which owes direct allegiance to the Government of Lhassa. The Kariapara duar, which lies at the foot of this section of the Himalayas, was annexed shortly after our occupation of Assam, and in 1844 the local officials, who are known as Gelengs, agreed to accept Rs. 5,000 per annum as a perpetual quit rent. In 1852, one of these Gelengs asserted his independence, and when troops were sent from Lhassa to arrest him, fled to British territory. The Tibetans demanded his surrender, which was refused, and four hundred men

with two guns were sent up to the frontier to oppose the threatened raid. This in itself was enough to damp the ardour of the hillmen, and it was agreed that the Geleng should be allowed to live in British territory south of the Brahmaputra. In 1861, he returned to the hills, but again embroiled himself with the authorities, and for a second time fled to the plains for refuge. He was allowed to remain in the neighbourhood of the frontier, and, in 1864, was murdered by a party of his enemies. No very decided action was taken on this violation of British territory, as the local officials were of opinion that the stoppage of the yearly payments might only lead to further raids. Since that date no trouble has been experienced on this section of the frontier.

The Charduar Bhutias, who lie further to the east, are a peaceful tribe who have given comparatively little trouble. In 1826, the compensation to be paid to them was fixed at Rs. 2,526, but thirteen years later it was reduced to Rs. 1,740 to punish them for the murder of a British subject. Their country lies between the Rota and the Gabharu rivers. Their neighbours on the east are the Thebengia Bhutias, a small and peaceful clan who receive Rs. 146 per annum.

**The Char-duar and Thebengia Bhutias.**

Between the Bhareli river and the Bhutias live the **The Akas.** Akas, a small but warlike tribe, who more than once have caused embarrassment to the Government. They are divided into two sections, the Hazarikhoas, or the people supported by a thousand groups of raiyats, and the Kapaschors or "thieves who lurk in the cotton

fields"; and, in the time of the Assam Rajas, they regularly harried the inhabitants of the plains. For many years the chief of the Kapaschor tribe, Tagi Raja, violated our boundaries, and, in 1829, he was captured and lodged in the Gauhati jail. In 1832, he was released, but immediately resumed his attacks, and, in 1835, massacred all the inhabitants of the police outpost and British village of Balipara. Six years later he surrendered, and an agreement was made by which both sections of the tribe received a yearly allowance, subsequently increased to Rs.668, in consideration of good conduct. In 1883, Medhi, the Kapaschor chief, detained a mauzadar who had visited his village, while his brother carried off from Balipara a clerk and ranger in the employ of the Forest Department. A punitive expedition was despatched which occupied their territory and recovered the captives, with the exception of the mauzadar who had already died. Since that date they have given little trouble, but in 1900, a party of armed Akas forcibly entered the shop of a trader at Balipara, to exact the amount which they alleged was due to them for rubber taken from their hills. A fine was imposed on the tribe, but, in order to minimize the chances of friction, it was decided to discontinue the practice under which coolies had been sent into the hills to tap rubber, and to leave the hillmen to bring down this product themselves.

**The Daflas'**  
relation  
with  
**Ahoms.**

The hills which stretch from the Bhareli river to the Sumdiri north of Lakhimpur are inhabited by the Daflas, a people, like their neighbours on the east and west, of Thibeto-Burman origin. In the days of Rudra Singh, they

seem to have owned allegiance to the Ahom Government, and both they and the Miris are said to have served in the expedition sent against the Kachari and Jaintia kings. Rudra Singh's son and successor, Sib Singh, constructed the Daflagarh to check their raids, and a later prince, Rajeswar Singh (1751—1769), seems to have experienced the same difficulties in dealing with them and to have adopted much the same remedies as successive Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners. The Daflas carried off one Bihoal Dom and his family, whereupon the king closed the duars and established a blockade. A deputation of hillmen then waited upon him, in the hope of coming to some agreement, but he foolishly broke faith and detained them as hostages at Kaliabar. The Daflas promptly retaliated by raiding again and carrying off more captives. An exchange of prisoners was ultimately arranged, and the experiment was then tried of giving each Dafla house a *pura* of rice and four *pans* of cowries in order to encourage them to be of good behaviour. In the period of anarchy that followed the accession of Lakshmi Singh, the hillmen threw off all semblance of control, and even ventured to cross the Brahmaputra in search of booty. It was only natural that they should resist the efforts of the British officers to reduce them again to order, and it was not till 1852 that their claims to collect their dues from the submontane villages were commuted for a money payment of Rs. 2,543.\*

\* Lieutenant Mathie (para. 77) states that the right to levy blackmail was conceded to the Daflas on the understanding that they in return would serve in the army of the Ahom Raja when called upon to do so. This being so their title to *posa* lapsed on our annexation of Assam, as we had no desire for such auxiliaries.

**Early raids  
and ex-  
pedition of  
1874-75.**

Like the other Himalayan tribes, their tempers are cast in a milder mould than those of the savages who occupy the Assam Range, and in their raids upon the plains they have generally contented themselves with taking prisoners, and have stopped short at murder. In 1835, they carried off a few persons from Balipara, who shortly afterwards were rescued by a small expeditionary force. Similar disturbances occurred in 1870 and 1872. In the latter year the village of Amtolla, near Gohpur, which was inhabited by Daflas who had settled in the plains, was raided by the hillmen, and forty-four persons were carried off, and two, who resisted, murdered. The hillmen had been troubled by an epidemic, which they alleged had been introduced from the plains, and called upon the plains Daflas to compensate them for the loss of life incurred. On their declining to accede to this proposal, the hillmen made good their demands by force. A blockade was at first instituted, but on this proving ineffectual, an expedition was despatched into the hills in 1874-75, and the captives were recovered.

**Misconduct  
since 1896.**

For more than 20 years after this demonstration of our power the tribe continued to be of good behaviour ; but in 1896 they detained a party of coolies, who had absconded from the Dikrai tea estate and wandered into the hills. The payment of *posa* was stopped, but the last of the coolies was not recovered till 1900. In 1899, they carried off four persons and three guns from an elephant camp near the frontier, not far from the Rangaghор garden in order to invite attention to their claims against a firm of Kaiyas for the price of rubber

tapped in their territory. The prisoners and most of the property were recovered, the Kaiyas were required to pay what was due, and the Daflas were fined for their violation of our territory, while a liberal deduction was made from the sum paid by the Kaiyas on account of the value of such property as was missing. Four years later the hillmen again carried off four men and seven guns from an elephant stockade in the same locality, as they were discontented with the distribution of a sum of money paid for the right of catching elephants in their territory. The captives were returned and the guns restored, but the other property was not forthcoming. The value of these articles was, accordingly, deducted from the Dafla *posa* and paid over to the owner.

Darrang was separated from Lower Assam and erected into a separate district in 1833, and its history since that date has been uneventful. The headquarters were first established at Mangaldai, but in 1835, were removed to Tezpur, which is situated in the centre of the district and is nearer to the Dafla tribes, who at that time were a source of some anxiety to the Government. For many years the station was considered most unhealthy, and in the eleven years between 1842 and 1853 no less than five European officers died of diseases contracted while they were resident at Tezpur. This unhealthiness is unfortunately not confined to the headquarters town, but seems to be a characteristic of the district as a whole. The development of Darrang has been hampered by the stagnation of the population. In 1853, Mr. Mills stated that the people had been supposed to be decreasing in

History of  
the district  
under Bri-  
tish Admi-  
nistration.

numbers during the four preceding years ; and in the thirty years between 1842 and 1872 the total censused increase was only 27 per cent, a large part of which was, doubtless, due to the superior accuracy of the later enumeration. In the twenty years ending with 1901 the indigenous population decreased considerably in numbers, and, had it not been for the existence of a flourishing tea industry, the district would still have been in a very undeveloped state. The administration of Darrang does not seem to have been hampered by the want of officers. In 1841, a junior assistant, a sub-assistant, a sadr amin and two munsifs were stationed in the district,\* and a similar number of officers were employed on judicial work in 1853. In those days there was little of hurry or bustle in Assam, and the administration of justice, if sure, was distinctly slow. Matters seem to have been particularly bad in the court of the joint magistrate, but that officer, when called on for an explanation, protested with some show of indignation that the detention of witnesses seldom exceeded eight days. As a matter of fact, it appears from the returns that, in 1852, no less than 36 unfortunate persons were detained from 16 to 22 days before they could get their evidence recorded !

**The Patharughat riots in 1896.**

Only once during the past fifty years has the internal peace of the district been seriously disturbed. The population of the Patharughat tahsil is largely composed of Muhammadans, who have more than once shown themselves impatient of control. When the revenue was raised in 1868, the villagers assembled in an unruly mob,

\* Robinson's Assam, p. 290.

and besieged the Deputy Commissioner, the Subdivisional Officer and the District Superintendent of Police in the rest-house ; but no extreme measures were resorted to on either side. In January 1894, after the reassessment of the Assam Valley, the villagers in this portion of the district declined to pay their revenue, and collected in tumultuous crowds with the evident intention of overawing the authorities. The Deputy Commissioner accordingly proceeded to Patharughat with twelve military policemen and nineteen members of the armed civil police, in order to lend the weight of his authority to the local revenue officials, who were quite unable to collect the land tax. The people assembled in a dense crowd in the compound of the inspection bungalow, and as they obstinately declined to move they had to be ejected by the police. About half an hour afterwards the mob returned armed with sticks and clods, and the police again advanced and drove them down a road on to an open plain. Here the mob rallied and began to pelt the police with clods and sticks, and gradually to hem them in. The police were compelled to open fire, but even then the rioters did not give way, and the police retired slowly firing all the time, with the crowd continually pressing in upon them. A final volley was then discharged and the police charged the rioters who at last began to yield, though they reformed a little distance off, and the Deputy Commissioner was compelled to retire to the inspection bungalow. Altogether fifteen men were killed and thirty-seven wounded in this unfortunate affair.

**Archæo-  
logical  
remains.  
The temples  
on the  
Bamuni  
hill.**

The most interesting archæological remains in Darrang are the ruins of the fine stone temples on the Bamuni hill a little to the east of Tezpur, and the carved pillars, entablatures, and friezes which are still to be seen lying near the cutchery, and are probably the remains of the glories of Durjaya. The Bamuni temples are thus described by Captain Westmacott :—

"The first temple I examined appeared to have faced the north, and to have been provided with a portico supported on three columns of sixteen sides; each shaft, not including the plinth—a pedestal which stands four feet above the ground--measured eight feet high, and five and a half in girth, and was wrought from a single block of fine granite. The shafts have sculptured capitals, while the subbases take the form of an octagon, and the plinths are circular at top, and spread into four feet, making a sort of cross that measured four and three-quarter feet each way. These gigantic stones, with the fragments of a fourth, each hewn from a single block fourteen feet long, and cut into five irregular sides, of which the total showed a circumference of eight feet, seemed to have formed the entablature of the entrance porch, which I judged to have been fifty-six feet long. The frieze has three tiers of carving in basso reliefo, representing scrolls of flowers. The apertures, in which iron rivets were introduced, can still be distinctly traced, and it is evident that no cement was employed to unite the materials. The other ruins were too much shattered and dispersed to enable me to conjecture the form of the temple. From a great portion of the surrounding works being in an unfinished state, it affords the presumption that the architect must have met with some unlooked-for interruption; and that this, and the other buildings, were overthrown at the same period by some hostile power opposed to the propagation of Hinduism, assisted perhaps, subsequently, by a convulsion of nature. Had time been the sole agent in overthrowing these structures, it is but fair to suppose, from the great solidity of the materials, that the ruin would have been less complete, and that the fragments would have lain in a narrower compass. The destruction of the temples at this place is ascribed by some to Kala Pahar, the general of Sulaiman, King of Bengal, at whose door the Assamese lay all the sacrilege and mischief that has been consummated in the Province."

From their massive proportions, and the carving and ornaments being so much worn by time and exposure, the fanes are evidently the work of a remote era; I sought in vain for an inscription, and neither the priests of the district, nor the ancient families whom I consulted, could assist my researches, or point, with any approximation to accuracy, to the date of their origin.

Unconnected with the first temple, and retired some yards deeper in the wood, or rather grove of trees which was in likelihood planted by the priests who ministered at the temples, I found the ruins of six or seven other enormous structures of granite, broken into thousands of fragments, and dispersed over the ground in the same extraordinary manner as those already described. Altars of gigantic proportions were among the most remarkable objects; one of these, measuring upwards of six feet each way and eighteen inches thick, was elevated from seven to eight feet above the level of the plain, and approached on each side by layers of stone disposed in the form of steps. It was hewn from a single block of granite; underneath was a sort of cavern; the top had holes for iron links, and a receptacle to receive flowers and water to bedew the Nandi, or sacred bull of Siva, who was placed, my informants imagined, on the brink of the reservoir. Six or eight other altars, one of them making a square of forty-six feet and eighteen inches thick, are to be seen in other parts of the ruins; and several square blocks, each measuring from twenty to thirty feet, concave in the centre, and sculptured in imitation of circlets of flowers, must have formed the *bedi* or altar-piece of Siva, as there is a seat for the *linga*, or symbol of the deity, in the middle of each.

The ruins are partly encompassed by walls, which extend in so many directions that it is scarcely possible to guess at the purpose of the architect. The walls have their foundations laid very deep in the earth. They are in an unfinished state, and were evidently constructed at a period long subsequent to the temples; they are built of massive blocks of cut stone, sometimes disposed in a double row, and exhibit a good deal of carving. The stones are of various shapes, and rise three or four feet from the ground, and were all intended to be united by bands of iron. The entrance of the principal enclosures appears to have been from the south, where lie some pedestals and three or four wedge-shaped stones, about five feet long and three broad, of a flattened pentagonal shape, intended, I presume, to have formed the voussoirs of an arch; the middle of the key-stone is decorated with a handsome diadem or plumed tiara.

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A little to the north of the wood, buried in a forest of reeds, I discovered a very interesting fragment : this was a solid mass of granite, of a much finer grain than the kind used in the temples measuring ten and a half feet in length, two and three quarters in breadth, and two in depth. On this were sculptured, in very high relief, eighteen figures of gods, partially mutilated, but generally in a good state of preservation.

Near the images are nine square pedestals of large dimensions, with three carved feet, which must have been intended to give support to as many columns ; of these several have almost disappeared in the earth, and it is probable that others are lost altogether. It shows, at all events, that the design of the temple must have been projected on a larger scale. The pedestals do not appear to have been moved from the spot where they were originally carved ; and they are so little impaired by time and exposure to the elements that I feel assured they are of modern date compared with the buildings in the plantations and on the adjacent plain. They were, indeed, as fresh to look at as if but recently executed by the mason's chisel. Vast fragments of the epistylium and frieze, carved with beaded drapery, also lie half-buried in the soil.

In the south-west angle of the Pura plains, there is another curious remnant of sculpture, also wrought from a single mass of granite, upwards of ten feet long and two and a half thick at the middle. It appears to have formed the side of a gate, and has a band of carving three inches broad on each side, showing in relief, elephants, tigers, deer, rams, cattle, and swans, encircled by scrolls of flowers.

No quarries were discovered to indicate that the stones were disembowelled from the hills ; but quantities of chips were seen in places ; and once I came upon pillars and altars in an unfinished state, shaped from blocks of granite, on the surface of the earth. There seems no question that all the material employed on the fabrics was similarly procured from the masses of rock that cover the hills in great abundance. Once or twice only I fell in with well-burnt bricks ; they were smooth and thin, of rather a large size, but not badly shaped. Great part of these extensive ruins are buried or have sunk into the earth, and they cover altogether about four or five acres of land.

I have been thus particular in noticing them, because there are not, so far as I know, any architectural remains in Assam that can

challenge a comparison with them for durability of material and magnitude of design ; and it is certain, from the prodigious number of ruinous and deserted temples, all of which appear to be dedicated to Siva, lying within the circuit of a few miles of Pura (I discovered twelve or fifteen in as many days on the hills and high lands at their feet), that this spot must have been the capital of a sovereign prince, or a principal seat of the Hindu religion enjoying a large share of prosperity at some remote period."

One of the largest temples in Darrang is the one sacred to Basudeb, which is situated near the Kharoi *bil* in the Kalabari mauza. It was built in 1758 A. D. and consists of a dome 26 feet in diameter at the base and 62 feet high, and a nave 28 feet long and 15 feet broad. The walls are about four feet thick and are made of thin flat bricks with a good glaze, but the whole structure has been allowed to fall into disrepair, and the idol has been removed to a shed close by. The temple is the property of the Dakhinpat gosain, and steps are now being taken to ensure that the necessary repairs are executed.

There is a similar temple on the southern slopes of the Singri hill in which there is a well, which is connected by a subterranean conduit with the Brahmaputra, so that the water in the well rises and falls with the water in the river. An image of Siva is supposed to be reposing at the bottom of the well, and the offerings of worshippers are accordingly thrown into the water. The date of the construction of the temple is not known. According to one account it was founded by Singri Rishi in the heroic age. Another legend has it that it was erected to the memory of one Vishnu Puri Swami, and that the Bhutias pay tribute to the temple at the present day as a punishment for having stolen a stone that had been placed upon his grave.

The Mala-bari temple.

The Singri temple.

This of course is legend and nothing more, but it is an actual fact that this temple, like the one at Hajo in Kamrup, is visited by considerable numbers of Bhutias in the cold weather.

**Temples at Bishnath.** Bishnath was a great religious centre after the conversion of the Ahom kings to Hinduism, and at one time there were several temples there, which at the present day have fallen into ruins. The Bishnath temple was built by Gadadhar Singh in 1685 A. D., and a copper plate is still extant which records the grant of four Brahman and forty Sudra *paiks*, eight dancing girls, and twenty *puras* of land with various ornaments to the idol. In 1815, a further grant of twenty-four *puras* of land was made by Chandra Kanta Singh; but the temple was long ago swept away by the Brahmaputra, and even the lingum, which is carved on a big rock, is only visible in the dry season. About 1730 A.D., Sib Singh constructed at Bishnath the Sivanath moth, a temple about 40 feet high, which has now fallen into disrepair; but this is not so fine a specimen of Ahom architecture as the Bordol temple which was erected by Gaurinath Singh about 1790 A. D. There are two small temples standing on rocks in the river, and four other places sacred to Basudeb, Kamaleswar; Muktinath, and Surjya Madhab; but worship is here conducted in a miserable thatched hut, and from an archæological point of view they possess but little interest. Local tradition avers that Sati's breast fell near Bishnath when her body was hewn in pieces by Vishnu, and though this tradition is not supported by the *Yogini Tantra*, which is the great authority on the subject, it

possibly accounts for the unusual degree of reverence with which Bishnath was regarded by the Ahom kings.

There are two small temples in the Borbhelia mauza, one the Nandikeswar, about three miles east of the Bhareli, and the other the Nagsankar, about six miles distant from that river. They are said to have been built by the kings of Pratappur, but very little is known about their origin. The Mahabhairab temple is a small brick building of recent date, about one mile due north of the Tezpur cutchery. It contains a large lingum which was apparently originally enshrined in a stone temple dating from the time of the Pala kings. The Haleswar temple is said to have been built under the orders of Rudra Singh, at the spot where a lingum was discovered by a man when ploughing (*hal*), and owes its name to that circumstance. A complete list of the temples in the district is appended to the following chapter.

Reference has been already made to the remains of the earthworks at Pratapgarh. The embankment, which is still about 20 feet in width, runs for more than two miles north of the trunk road, and then meets the Majuligarh which is continued right up to the foot of the hills.

The fortress at Bhalukpang is situated on the top of a hill, 300 feet high, near the point where the Bhareli issues from the Aka Hills. Three sides of the hill are surrounded by a brick wall, and, on the fourth, the fortifications are carried across to an adjoining hillock which slopes gradually to the plain. Hewn stones and the remains of plinths are to be seen within the ramparts,

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and a steep pathway paved with stone runs up the eastern face of the hill.

**The Burai  
walls.**

On either side of the Burai river, just beyond the inner line, there are two masonry walls, one of which is about 300 yards long and 10 feet high. These walls, with a sacred cave in the vicinity, were described by Colonel Dalton in the Calcutta Review and recently by Mr. W. N. Edwards\*. From their position it appears that they were erected to protect their occupants from invasion from the south.

**Tanks.**

The only other memorials of a byegone age are the tanks which are to be found in every portion of the district, many of them in places which are now completely destitute of inhabitants. They thus suggest, what on *a priori* grounds seems only probable, that some centuries ago the population of Darrang was greater than it is at the present day.

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\* *Vide J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXXII, Pt. I, No. 3, 1904.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. D.	AHOM KINGS.	MUHAMMADAN INVASION.
1228	Sukapha.	1204 Baktiar Khilji invades Assam.
1268	Sutenpha.	1220 Ghiyasud din Bahadur Shah—advances to Sadiya but is defeated.
1281	gubinpha.	
1293	Sukangpha.	1256 Iktiyarud-din Yuzbak Tughril Khan—invades the Brahmaputra Valley, but is ultimately defeated.
1322	Sukampha.	
1364	Sutupha—treacherously killed by Chutiyas at a regatta held on the Safral river to celebrate a cessation of hostilities between the two tribes.	1387 Muhammed Shah—sends a force "of 100,000 horsemen" into Assam, all of whom perish.
1376—1380	Interregnum.	
1380	Sukemthi—a weak and tyrannical prince, assassinated by his ministers.	
1389—1398	Interregnum.	
1398	Sudangpha.	
1407	Siyangpha.	
1422	Supukph	
1439	Susingpha—defeats Nagas.	
1488	Suhangpha—defeated by Kocharis in 1490 and murdered by a convict.	
1493	Supimpha—a cruel prince, assassinated by his ministers.	1509—1534 Viswa Singh—founds Koch kingdom, advances against Ahoms but was apparently defeated.
1497	Suhunmung alias Sarga Narayan or Dihingia Raja—conquers Chutiyas and annexes their kingdom, 1523. Repulses two Muhammadan invasions, the second being that under Turbuk in 1532 who was routed near Bhareli river. Kills Kochari king and sacks Dimapur his capital in 1536. Assassinated 1539.	1534—1584 Nar Narayan—conquers Ahoms and occupies Gargaon, circa 1563 A. D. Subdues Rajas of Cachar, Jaintia, Manipur, Tippera and Sylhet. Kala Patar invades Assam in 1553 and destroys temples at Kamakhya and Hajo.
1539	Sukhenmung—built Gargaon (Nazira)	1581—1593 Raghu Rai—obtains share of Koch kingdom east of Sankosh.
1582	Sukampha.	
1611	Suchengpha or Pratap Singh—assists Bali Narayan against Mussalmans—besieges Hajo but is driven back. Barnadi accepted as frontier between Muhammadans and Ahoms in 1637.	1593-1614 Parikshit—builds North Gauhati, quarrels with his cousin Lakshmi Narayan who calls in Muhammadans to his aid.
		1614—1637 Bali Narayan—invokes aid of Ahoms against Muhammadans. From this date the Koch kings cease to be of any political importance.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—(*continued*).

## AHOM KINGS.

1649	Surumpha—deposed.
1652	Suchingpha—deposed.
1654	Sutumla or Jaiyadwaj Singh—Ahoms occupy Goalpara 1653. Driven back by Mir Jumla who enters Gargaon 1661.
1663	Chakradwaj—Ahoms reoccupy Gauhati in 1667.
1670	Adayaditya Singh—assassinated.
1673	Suklumpha—poisoned, Musalmans reoccupy Gauhati.
1674	Suhung—assassinated.
1674	Teenkunglya—assassinated.
1674	Suhungpha—blinded and murdered.
1677	Sudinphpha—assassinated.
1679	Sulekphpha (Lora Roja)—assassinated.
1681	Gadadhar Singh—Ahoms recover possession of Gauhati.
1695	Rudra Singh—founds Rangpur, defeats Kachari and Jaintia Rajas, publicly adopts Hinduism as his religion. This period represents the height of the Ahom power. Dies at Gauhati.
1714	Sib Singh—a weak prince who resigned in favour of his wives. Excavated tank at Sibsagar.
1744	Pranatta Singh.
1751	Rajeswar Singh—decline of Ahom power.
1769	Lakshmi Singh—outbreak of Moomaria rebellion—king deposed for a time, but subsequently reinstated.
1780	Gaurinath Singh—driven to Gauhati by Moomarias. Reinstated by Captain Welsh in 1792, who is, however, recalled in 1794.
	Krishna Narayan, Darrang Raja—asserts his independence in 1792, but is defeated by Captain Welsh.
1795	Kamalaswar Singh—deposes Krishna Narayan.

**CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—(*concluded*).**

**AHOM KINGS.**

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1809 | Chandra Kanta Singh—Burmese<br>are invited into Assam by Bor<br>Phukan. Deposed 1816.       |
| 1816 | Purandar Singh—Burmese again<br>enter Assam. Deposed 1818.                                  |
| 1818 | Chandra Kanta Singh—Burmese<br>decline to leave—Chandra Kanta<br>driven from Assam in 1820. |
| 1821 | War declared between British and<br>Burmese Governments.                                    |
| 1825 | Rangpur taken.  |
| 1826 | Treaty of Yandahoo by which<br>Assam was ceded to the East<br>India Company.                |



## CHAPTER III.

### POPULATION.

Density of population—Town and villages—Growth of population—Variations by subdivisions—Migration—Sex and marriage—Infirmities—Language—Castes—Religion—Hindu sects—Gosains and sattras—Muhammadanism—Animism—Minor religions—Christianity—Occupations—Marriage customs—Amusements and festivals.

**Density of population.** The district covers an area of 3,418 square miles and is comparatively sparsely peopled, except in the central portion of Mangaldai. Roughly speaking, this tract is included in the tahsils of Kalaigaon and Patharughat, which, in 1901, covered an area of 422 square miles and supported a population of 209 to the square mile, and in the Mangaldai tahsil, which had a density of 162 to the square mile. Population is also fairly dense in the belt of land which runs northward from Tezpur town towards the hills and is included in the Tezpur tahsil and the Bali-para mauza. East and west of Tezpur the submontane tracts are very sparsely peopled ; and the Gohpur mauza, which lies in the east of the district and covered an area of 508 square miles, had only 49 persons to the square mile in 1901. There are also wide stretches of waste land between the Gabharu river and Odalguri. The Bargaon, Orang, Dalgaon, Rangapani, and Sonaigaon mauzas, which are included in this tract, had a population, in 1901, of only 34 persons to the square mile, over

a total area of 900 square miles. Much of this waste land is undoubtedly well adapted for cultivation, and it is allowed to remain under jungle, not because it is intrinsically undesirable, but because there is no one in the district to till it. The area and population of each tahsil and mauza in 1901 will be found in Table III.

Darrang contains one town, Tezpur, which in 1901, <sup>Town and villages.</sup> had a population of 5,047 souls, and 1,275 villages. The villages are not, however, well defined units, clusters of huts which stand out clearly in the centre of the fields tilled by their inhabitants. Rice, the staple crop, is grown in wide plains, dotted over with clumps of bamboos and fruit trees in which are buried the houses of the cultivators. It is groves and not villages that the traveller sees when riding through the more densely populated portions of the district, and not a house can usually be discerned till he has penetrated this jungle of plantains, betelnut trees, and bamboos. There is generally no dearth of building sites, there are no communal lands, and there is nothing to keep the population together. Except on the grassy plains inhabited by the Kacharis, it is difficult to tell where one village ends and another begins, or to which of the larger clumps of trees should be assigned the smaller clumps which are freely dotted about amongst the rice fields. The result is that the statistics of villages are of little practical importance ; but, taking them for what they are worth, it appears that villages run small, as, in 1901, nearly two-thirds of the population of the district were living in hamlets with less than 500 inhabitants.

**Growth of population.**

The earliest estimate of the population was made in 1835, and was evidently much below the mark. The Bhutan Duars were excluded from the calculation, and in the remainder of the district there were said to be 89,519 persons. In 1841-42, a more accurate enumeration showed 185,569 people living within the district as at present constituted, but the first regular census was not taken till 1872.

		Population,	Percentage of increase in decade.
1872	...	235,720	
1881	...	273,012	+ 15.8
1891	...	307,440	+ 12.6
1901	...	337,313	+ 9.7

The abstract in the margin shows the population recorded at the last four enumerations and the percentage of increase in each decade.

At first sight it would appear that the people were growing in numbers in a satisfactory manner, but further investigation shows that this is not the case. The whole of the increase is due to immigration, and not to, what is generally expected, an excess of births over deaths. There was no increase in the number of persons born and censused in the district between 1881 and 1891, and, as the latter enumeration was the more accurate of the two, it is only reasonable to suppose that they actually declined in numbers. The results disclosed by the last census were even more unsatisfactory. The decrease in the indigenous population was no less than 8 per cent, and the total population enumerated outside the tea gardens was more than 2,000 less than it had been ten years before.

These unsatisfactory results are partly due to the spread of *kala-azar*, an acute and very contagious form of fever, which is described at greater length in the section dealing with the medical aspects of the district. But apart from special causes of this nature, it seems possible that there may be something connected with the tract of country lying between the Brahmaputra and the Himalayas which is unfavourable to the rapid growth of population. The census of 1872 was non-synchronous, and accurate statistics are only available for the purposes of comparison for the last twenty years. During this period there has been no material growth in Goalpara, Kamrup, or Darrang, but it is possible that this is due to the existence of the special cause to which reference has been already made, *i. e.*, *kala-azar*. It is, however, a significant fact that the population of the Kuch Bihar State, which is not known to have suffered from this fever, steadily decreased between 1881 and 1901. Again, in the neighbouring district of Rangpur, the population in 1901 was only a few hundreds more than that returned in 1872; and, as there was a great improvement in the accuracy of the enumeration, it is evident that during these twenty-nine years the total population declined in numbers.

There is nothing in the Assam terai to suggest to the casual visitor that it is specially unhealthy. The land lies high, is fairly free from jungle, and rolls in grassy plains, covered with short springy turf, to the foot of the Himalayas. It is, however, an undoubted fact that the detachment of sepoys who used to garrison the fort at

**Are the  
Himalayan  
plains  
inimical to  
human life?**

Odalguri, returned each year to their regiment broken in health and saturated with malaria. Yet they were only stationed at this outpost in the cold weather, and, at that season of the year, Odalguri fort is, to all outward seeming, far from an unhealthy place of residence. The cause of the unhealthiness of the locality is most obscure. Possibly it may be, in some way, connected with the high subsoil level of the water, due to the disappearance of some of the rivers into the soil in the northern portion of the plain, a phenomenon which is common to all the Bhutan Duars. This stagnation of the population is, moreover, not a thing of yesterday. In 1853, Mr. Moffatt Mills was informed by the local officers that the population had been decreasing during the four preceding years, and severe charges were brought by the civil surgeon against the salubrity of Tezpur, the headquarters station.\* He pointed out that during the preceding eleven years no less than five European officers had died of diseases contracted while they were in charge of that town; but, in common fairness, it must be admitted that this exceptional mortality was in all probability largely due to special disadvantages of site, which have since been partially remedied.

**Variation  
by sub-  
divisions.**

	Population.	Percentage variation.	
	1901.	1891-1901.	1881-1891.
Tezpur ...	166,733	+39·5	+37·5
Mangaldai ...	170,580	-9·2	+0·08

The abstract in the margin shows the distribution of the population by subdivisions and the percentage of variation that took place in the last two decades.

\* Report on the Province of Assam by A. J. Moffatt Mills. Calcutta, 1854.  
'Darrang.'

The contrast between the eastern and western portions of the district is most marked, as, while the population of Tezpur was advancing by leaps and bounds, that of Mangaldai was at first stationary and then positively receding. There is, however, a most complete difference between the conditions prevailing in the two subdivisions. In 1881, Tezpur was very sparsely peopled, there being only 42 persons to the square mile, whereas in Mangaldai there were 146, and most of the good rice land south of the Kachari mauzas was already taken up. In the latter subdivision the general health has been extremely bad, the soil has not proved very suitable for the cultivation of tea, and the overflow from the plantations has not been enough to make good the deficiencies occurring in the ranks of the village population. In Tezpur there are numerous flourishing tea gardens, to which large quantities of coolies are imported every year. Many of these persons save money and settle down as independent cultivators. The extent to which this process of colonization has been carried on can be judged from the fact that, in 1901, it was found that no less than 13 per cent of the villagers of Tezpur had been born in the Provinces and States which supply Assam with its garden coolies. *Kala-azar* has appeared near Bishnath and Tezpur town, but the mortality from this disease in the *sadr* subdivision has been insignificant in comparison with the havoc wrought in Mangaldai, and the general condition of this portion of the district may be considered to be distinctly satisfactory. In Tezpur, there was, in 1901, in each tahsil and mauza, a

large increase of population, which was most pronounced in Gohpur and Bargaon, two extensive tracts at the eastern and western ends of the subdivision, where there is a great quantity of excellent land available for settlement. On the other hand, Sekhar and Jhaprabari, two mauzas in the north-west corner of Mangaldai, were the only portions of that subdivision where there was any appreciable increase of population, and this was almost entirely due to the importation of garden coolies. Everywhere else there was a decrease, which was most pronounced in the Patharughat and Mangaldai tahsils in the south-west corner, and in the Harisinga, Ambagaon, Sonaigaon, and Rangapani mauzas, which lie between Bengbari and Orang at the foot of the Bhutan Hills. Further details with regard to the density and variation in the population of each tahsil and mauza in the district will be found in Table III.

**Migration.**

Reference has been already made to the extent to which Darrang has relied on immigration to keep up its population, and the statistics of birthplace show that, in 1901, more than one-fourth of the persons censused in the district were foreigners who had been born outside the boundaries of the Province. In Tezpur, these foreigners formed nearly 42 per cent of the total population, but in Mangaldai, where the tea industry is of less importance, they were only 9 per cent of the whole. The total number of persons censused in the district in 1901 who had been born outside Assam was 84,749, more than two-thirds of whom came from the Province.

of Bengal. The immense mass of these immigrants were garden coolies, but Bengalis also find employment in Darrang as clerks and shop-keepers, while practically all the wholesale trade is in the hands of Marwari merchants from Rajputana. The Bhutias who were censused in the plains were only temporary visitors who descend from the hills in the cold weather, but the Nepalese are settling in Darrang in considerable numbers. Many of them are graziers, sawyers, and rubber tappers, but they are also taking to cultivation, especially in the Gohpur and Behali mauzas. Darrang gains largely by inter-district migration, as comparatively few people leave the district, and there is a considerable influx from Kamrup and Nowgong. About 4,000 of the immigrants from Kamrup were probably Kachari coolies working on the tea gardens, but the great bulk of the remainder must have been ordinary cultivators attracted by the broad stretches of culturable waste land still available for settlement.

सन्यमेव जयते

At each of the last four enumerations there has been a great disparity between the sexes, and, in 1901, there were only 916 females to every 1,000 males. This is, however, principally due to the large foreign element in the population, in which women are always in a minority, and amongst those born and enumerated in Darrang the proportion rises to 984. Infant marriage is quite the exception, as will be seen from the statement in the margin, which shows the percentage of Hindu girls under 10, and between 10 and 15, who have performed the marriage

Sex and  
marriage.

ceremony ; and the percentage of girls between 15 and 20, who, even according to western ideas, would be considered *apiae viro*, who were still unwed. For the purposes of comparison similar figures have been inserted for Goalpara, as that district has been infected with the singular idea, that is unfortunately so general in Bengal, that social status can in some way be obtained by submitting an immature child to the responsibilities of matrimony. In an equal number of girls under ten there are seven who have been married in Goalpara, for everyone who has performed the ceremony in Darrang ; and in the latter district more than a third of the girls, even between 15 and 20, were still unwed.

Age.	Percentage of Hindu girls married and widowed.	
	Goalpara.	Darrang.
0-10	4.8	0.7
10-15	62.4	14.7
	Percen-	Unmar-
15-20	7.2	36.5

The growth of the population depends to some extent upon the number of potential mothers. Assuming that this class is represented by married women between 15 and 40, it appears that the reproductive section form 164 per mille of the total population, which is 7 per mille more than the proportion for the Province as a whole.

**Infirmities.** Darrang as a whole is fairly free from three out of the four special infirmities recorded at each census. The number of persons returned as insane in 1901 was below the Provincial average, after allowing for the lunatics censused in the Tezpur Asylum who had been born outside the district. Deaf-mutism is, however, fairly common,

and the proportion afflicted not only exceeds the Provincial average but is more than 50 per cent higher than that prevailing in India as a whole. The percentage of lepers is considerably lower than that returned from most of the districts of the Province, but is much in excess of the average for the whole of India.

The abstract in the margin shows the number out of

Darrang, Assam, India. 10,000 males afflicted in

Insane	...	7	5	3	Darrang, Assam, and the
Lepers	...	8	13	5	Indian Empire as a whole.
Deaf-mutes...	...	10	9	6	
Blind	...	6	10	12	The figures for males only

have been given, as the return for females, especially in the case of leprosy, is probably not so accurate.

Assamese and Bodo or Kachari are the forms of speech *language.* natural to the indigenous inhabitants of the district, and the former was used by 51 per cent of the population in 1901, the latter by 16 per cent. The bulk of the Kachari speakers are found in Mangaldai, in the grassy plains at the foot of the Himalayas, but, though faithful to their tribal form of speech in their own homes, most of the villagers understand and speak Assamese as well. Bengali was returned by 19 per cent of the population, but it is doubtful whether in many cases the term indicates more than a foreign language, Bengali and foreigner being almost interchangeable expressions amongst the Assamese. Hindi was used by nearly 4 per cent, and Mundari by nearly 2 per cent of the people censused in Darrang in 1901. Assamese is described by Dr. Grierson as the sister not the daughter of Bengali.\* It comes from

\* Report on Census of India, 1901, Vol. I, p. 324.

Bihar through Northern Bengal and not from Bengal Proper. The plural and feminine gender are formed in a different way from that in use in Bengali, and there is a considerable difference in the conjugation of the verb, in the idiom, the syntax, and even in the vocabulary. The pronunciation is also different, the Bengali sh being converted into h by the Assamese, and ch into s. Kachari, or Bodo as it is more properly called, is a fairly rich language remarkable for the ease with which roots can be compounded together. A grammar of this language has been published by the Reverend S. Endle.\*

**Caste.**

A complete absence of distinction is the dominant note in the caste organization of Darrang. Brahmans, Baidyas, and Kayasthas are the aristocracy of Eastern India, and each of these three castes is very poorly represented in the district. The Ganak would rank after the Kayastha in ordinary estimation in Assam, but unfortunately in Mangaldai, where the majority of the Darrang Ganaks are found, they have fallen from their high estate and have sunk to a very low position in the social scale. Next to the high class Ganak come the Kalita and Kewat, but these two castes, though numerous in the neighbouring district of Kamrup, barely total 31,000 in Darrang. Other castes conspicuous by their absence are the two great race castes of Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, the Ahom and the Chutiya, who between them number less than 7,000 souls. The bulk of the indigenous inhabitants were probably originally Kaeharis who, with their kinsmen the Rabhas, reached a total in 1901 of nearly 79,000

\* Shillong Secretariat Press, 1884.

persons, six-sevenths of whom were found in Mangaldai. The Kachari, on conversion to Hinduism, is admitted into the ranks of the Koch, and it is only natural that these Koches (47,000) should be numerically the strongest section of the Hindus in the district. The Jugis and Nadiyals, both of whom come low in the social scale, are fairly strongly represented, and in the Tezpur subdivision the cooly castes, such as the Munda, Santal, Bhuiya, and Oraon are found in considerable numbers. Two hundred and three Europeans were censused in the district in 1901, 167 of whom were living in the *sadr* subdivision. Brief notes are appended describing the principal features of each of the indigenous castes, of whom there were 5,000 or more in the district in 1901.\*

A certain proportion of the Brahmins are foreigners, *Brahmans*.

Males ... 3,634 either natives of Bengal acting in  
Females ... 2,798 some ministerial capacity, or Nepalese who have settled in the district,

but the great majority are natives of Assam. Most of them subsist on the profits of their farms, which they either plough with hired labour, or, if they are too poor to engage a servant, cultivate with the hoe, as a Brahman is not allowed to touch the plough with his own hands. Of the remainder some take service as cooks, some act as priests; though the number of the latter is not large, as few of the Brahmins of Darrang are sufficiently well versed in the *shastras* to be qualified for the priest-

\* An alphabetical glossary of all castes censused in the Province will be found in Ch. XI of the Assam Census Report for 1901.

hood. The majority of the Brahmans in the district live near Mangaldai town and in the Patharughat tahsil.

**Ganaks.**

The origin of the Ganaks is obscure, and, though they claim to be Brahmans, they are regarded with much contempt in Bengal and the Surma Valley. This may possibly be due to their traditional occupation, astrology, as there is a tendency to look down on Brahmans who act as priests or take any practical part in the business of religion. In Assam Proper, the better class of Ganaks occupy a much more dignified position, and are regarded by the common people as ranking second only to the Brahmans. This difference in social estimation is no doubt partly due to the fact that the number of really high caste Hindus amongst the Assamese is comparatively small. Both the Koch and Ahom kings were members of non-Aryan races, and the Ganaks were held in high favour by the rulers of those tribes, a factor which counts for much in Assamese society. Most of the Ganaks of Darrang were censused in Mangaldai, and many of the Mangaldai Ganaks are said to be degraded. They are divided into five classes—(1) Raj Ganaks, who enjoyed the favour of the native rulers, (2) Deori Ganaks, who were employed in temples, (3) Biah Ganaks, who were professional singers, (4) Natoa Ganaks, who were professional dancers, and (5) Bilati Ganaks, who were cultivators. The first three classes do not intermarry with the other two, whose customs are apparently those of the ordinary low caste Assamese.

The Jugis are a low caste, whose traditional occupation **Jugis.**  
 Males ... 8,542 is weaving, and who are looked  
 Females ... 8,508 down upon by their superiors in the  
 social scale ; but, like other humble castes, they lay claim to a high origin. According to one account, they are the offspring of Brahman widows and ascetics, while others assert that they are descended from Gorakshanath, who was an incarnation of Siva. Very few Jugis now earn their living as weavers, and the caste as a whole has taken to agriculture as a means of livelihood.

In the Otolu and Punia mauzas of Mangaldai there is a section of the caste known as the Kankuruli Jugis. Their social position is extremely low, they bury their dead, have no religious ceremony at marriage or death, and have only recently obtained gosains. The Katani Jugis emphatically deny that they were ever in any way connected with the Kankurulis. The Katani are said to have entered the Province in the days of Ballal Sen, and till the time of the Darrang Raja Madho Narayan (1728—1778 A. D.) their position was extremely low. Under his patronage they made considerable advances in the social scale, and they now enjoy a better position in Darrang than in any other part of the Assam Valley. They claim to rank with the Koch, and several gosains have certified that the higher castes may take water from their hands.

The Kacharis or Bara (mispronounced Bodo), as they **Kacharis.**  
 Kacharis. call themselves, belong to the great  
 Males ... 33,422 Bodo tribe, which is found, not only  
 Females ... 29,804 in the Brahmaputra Valley, but in

the Garo Hills and in Hill Tippera, south of the Surma Valley. It is generally supposed that they are a section of the Indo-Chinese race, whose original habitat was somewhere between the upper waters of the Yang-tse-kiang and the Hoang-ho, and that they gradually spread in successive waves of immigration over the greater part of what is now the Province of Assam. This theory has much to recommend it, though, as a matter of fact, apart from the southward movement of the Miris and Chutiyas, most of the tribal migrations of which we have actual knowledge have been from the south towards the north. This was the direction of the Ahom invasion in the thirteenth century, the traditions of the Nagas all represent them as coming from the south, and the northward movement of the Kuki tribes was only stopped by the intervention of the British Government. On the other hand, Mr. Dundas quotes a prayer used by the Dimasa in the North Cachar Hills, which supports the view that the tribe came from the north-east. It refers to a huge pepul tree growing near the confluence of the Dilao (Brahmaputra) and the Sagi. There the Kacharis were born and increased greatly in numbers, and thence they travelled by land and water till they reached Nilachal, the hill near Gauhati on which the temple of Kamakhya stands. From Gauhati they migrated to Halali, and finally settled in Dimapur. The inscriptions recorded on copper plates in the tenth and eleventh centuries A. D. refer to the conquest of Kamarupa by a foreign dynasty, which was subsequently replaced by a king of the line of Narak.\* It is possible that the Kacharis

\* *Vide J. A. S. B. Vol., LXVII, Part I, No. 1, 1898, page 99.*

were the invading force, and that they were afterwards dislodged from Gauhati, when they might not unnaturally have retreated towards the Dhansiri valley.

The Kachari kingdom was one of the strongest powers with which the Ahoms were confronted when they entered the valley of the Brahmaputra. Their capital was located at Dimapur on the Dhansiri river, and at one time they were in possession of the western part of Sibsagar, and the greater part of Nowgong. Dimapur was sacked by the Ahoms in 1536, and the Kachari king was compelled to move his capital to Maibang. Subsequently they migrated to the plains of Cachar, and the last representative of the line was assassinated there in 1830. It seems, however, doubtful whether the Kacharis who live on the north bank of the Brahmaputra were ever in any way connected with the king of Dimapur. The one tribe style themselves Bara, the other Dimasa ; and, though both use languages of Bodo origin, the difference between plains Kachari and Dimasa is greater than that between French and Spanish. The two tribes sprang no doubt from the same stock, but there is no evidence to show that they were ever united by the tie of a common nationality, or that the Kacharis of Darrang were more closely connected with the Kacharis of North Cachar, than are the Rabhas or Lalungs.

Difference  
between  
Dimasa and  
Bodo.

The following legend, which is prevalent amongst the Dimasa, has been reported by Mr. Dundas. It would account for the separation of the Bodo and Dimasa, but no traces of the story have been found amongst the Kacharis of Darrang :—

"Long ago the Dimasa fought against a powerful tribe and were beaten in a pitched battle. They were compelled to give ground, but after a time further retreat was barred by a wide and deep river. In despair the king resolved to fight again on the following day, but in the night a god appeared to him and told him that the next morning the army could cross the river if they entered it at a spot where they saw a heron standing on the bank. No one, however, was to look back while the movement was in progress. The dream proved true. A heron was seen standing on the bank, and the king and a great portion of his people crossed in safety. A man then turned to see whether his son was following, when the waters suddenly rose and swept away those who were in the river bed and prevented the others from crossing. The Dimasa were those who succeeded in reaching the further bank in safety."

**Bodo cus-  
toms.**

The names of various clans are still remembered in Darrang, but they seem to be of a totemistic origin, and, at the present day, the tribe is not split up into any endogamous or exogamous subdivisions. Their social position is of course low, but the Hindu gosains are willing to receive them as their disciples, and, if they are prepared to abandon their pork and beer, will even enrol them as members of the Koch caste. The bulk of the Kacharis live on the grassy plains at the foot of the Himalayas, and are especially numerous in what are known as the Kachari Duars, *i. e.* Kariapara, Buriguma, Khaling, and Chatgari and in the Kowpati mauza. Their villages are surrounded with fences, but present a dirty and untidy appearance, as pigs and fowls are allowed to wander about in all directions. Agriculture is their normal occupation, and rice the staple crop grown. They are fully alive to the advantages of irrigation and conduct the water of the hill streams on to their fields through little artificial channels. But, though efficient

agriculturists, they have not that contempt for daily labour which is so marked a characteristic of the Assamese. They readily take work on tea gardens, and in 1901 nearly 14,000 Kacharis were censused on the plantations.

Though still using their tribal form of speech in their own villages, most of them can speak and understand Assamese. The national religion is of the ordinary animistic type. The principal god is called Siju, and used formerly to be represented by the cactus (*euphorbia splendens*) found growing in the courtyard of every Kachari house ; but of recent years the tulsi plant has largely superseded the cactus, as the outward and visible sign of the deity. In addition to Siju, there are a large number of other spirits most of which are hostile to men ; and the principal object of religion is to ascertain in times of trouble the name of the spirit responsible, and the way in which it may most easily be appeased. The dead are usually burned, but are sometimes buried, from motives of economy. Marriage is generally by purchase, a bride costing from Rs. 50 to Rs. 70, and, where the man is unable to provide this sum, he goes to live with his father-in-law and works for him. A year's labour is only reckoned as being worth from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30, but it must be borne in mind that during the time that he is working for his bride the man is fed and clothed by his father-in-law. Pregnancy prior to marriage does not entail any social disability, provided that the father acknowledges the child and is a Kachari by caste.

**Kalita.**

The following account of the origin of the Kalita caste

Males ...	... 9,690	is reproduced from the Report on
Females	... 8,146	the Census of 1901.

"There is much uncertainty as to the origin of this caste. The popular explanation is that Kalitas are Kshatriyas, who, fleeing from the wrath of Parasu Ram, concealed their caste and their persons in the jungles of Assam, and were thus called Kul-lupta. Other theories are that they are Kayasthas degraded for having taken to cultivation, an explanation which in itself seems somewhat improbable, and does not appear to be supported by any evidence, or that they are the old priestly caste of the Bodo tribe. The latter theory can hardly be said to account for their origin, and though it is possible that Kalitas may have originally acted as priests this fact throws little or no light on the problem of what the Kalitas are. The most plausible suggestion is that they are the remains of an Aryan colony, who settled in Assam, at a time when the functional castes were still unknown in Bengal, and that the word "Kalita" was originally applied to all Aryans who were not Brahmans. The Kalitas are divided into two main subdivisions, Bar and Saru, and into a number of professional subcastes. In Upper Assam, Bar Kalitas are said to decline to use the plough, though they occasionally work with the spade, but there is no such restriction in Kamrup where the great bulk of the caste is found. Cultivation is, in fact, the traditional occupation of the caste, and they even consent to work as coolies on tea gardens. The usual procedure for a Kalita who has succeeded in rising above the necessity for manual labour, and is no longer compelled to follow the plough, is to call himself a Kaist or Kayastha. Two explanations are given of the origin of the Saru Kalita—one that he is the offspring of persons who for three generations back have not been united by the "hom" ceremony, the other that he is the child of a Bar Kalita and a Kewat woman. Whether the Bar Kalita can inter-marry with and eat *kachchi* with the Saru Kalita seems open to question, and the practice apparently varies in different districts; but there seems to be no doubt that the functional subdivisions of the caste are debarred from the privilege of close intercourse with the Bar Kalita. These subdivisions are the Mali, Sonari, Kamar, Kumhar, Napit, Nat, Suri and Dhoba. The first two inter-marry with the Saru Kalita, and also with the Kamar Kalita. The last four groups are endogamous. All these functional groups are to some extent looked down upon, probably because followers of

these professions, who were not true Kalitas, have occasionally succeeded in obtaining admission within their ranks; but the goldsmiths, from their wealth, have secured a good position in society. Kalitas have a good Brahman for their priest, and their water is taken by every caste, a fact which no doubt explains the high value attached to Kalita slaves in the time of the Assam Rajas, when two Koches could be purchased for the price of a single Kalita, though the Koch is generally the hardier and stronger man of the two."

Early marriage is common in Goalpara but not in Assam Proper, except amongst the upper sections of the caste. They take, in fact, a liberal view of the relations between the sexes, and cohabitation is the essential part of marriage. Well-to-do Kalitas are invariably united by the *hompara* rite and employ a Brahman, but the poorer people often content themselves with the *agchauldia* or *juron* ceremonies, which consist of a feast to the villagers and a public acknowledgment of the position of the bride. Some authorities hold that this, though a valid form of marriage for the lower Assamese castes, is not sufficient for the Kalita. They regard the *hompara* rite as the one essential ceremony of purification, but it can be performed after cohabitation has begun, and sometimes takes place after the death of the husband. An unmarried girl who becomes pregnant does not forfeit her position in the society unless her lover is of a lower caste. The bulk of the Kalitas were censused in the Tezpur, Chutia, and Patharughat tahsils.

Many of the Kayasthas are foreigners, and most of ~~Kayastha~~.

Males ...	..	1,048	them earn their living as Govern-
Females ...	..	641	ment servants or tea garden clerks.

Kalitas who have risen above the necessity for manual labour also frequently describe themselves as Kayasthas.

**Kewats.**

The Kewats are a respectable Hindu caste, from whose hands Brahmans will take water and who, according to Assamese ideas, rank immediately after the Kalita. These remarks only hold good, however, of the Halwa or cultivating Kewats, as the Jaliya, or fishing subdivision of the caste, occupy a very humble position in the social scale, and are considered little better than Nadiyals. The two sections of the caste have nothing whatever in common except the name, Kewat or Kaibartta, but the number of Jaliya Kewats is comparatively small. The ordinary occupation of the caste is agriculture, but a few of them have succeeded in reaching that desirable position in which the pen takes the place of the ploughshare as a means of livelihood. A respectable Brahman acts as their priest.

**The Madi-yals.**

The Doms, or as they prefer to call themselves Nadiyals, are the boating and fishing caste of Assam. They are anxious to assume the name Jaliya Kai-bartta, but the Kaibarttas are unquestionably a different caste, though the manners and customs of the Jaliya Kai-bartta do not differ materially from that of the Assamese Nadiyal, except in the following particulars. The Kaibarttas decline to use the *ghokota* net, and in theory only sell their fish on the river's bank within a paddle's throw of the boat, whereas the Nadiyals regularly take their catch to market. The Nadiyals are probably descended from the aboriginal race of Doms, the ruins of whose forts are still to be seen in India, but migrated to Assam

Males	...	7,546
Females	...	6,077

before the Dom caste had been assigned the degrading functions now performed by them in Bengal. They are cleanly in their habits and particular in their observance of the dictates of the Hindu religion, and account for the objectionable expression "Dom," which undoubtedly they have borne for centuries, by saying that they were the last of the Assamese to be converted from Buddhism. They are darker in complexion than most of the Assamese, but have a good physique, and by no means uncomely faces. Their women are most prolific and the Dom villages are full of fat brown babies. They rank very low in the social scale, and, according to Assamese ideas, are superior only to the Brittial Baniya or Hari. The bulk of the caste still live by fishing, and education has made but little progress among them. Marriage does not take place till the girl is fully grown, and they are free from any puritanical notions with regard to the relations between the sexes. Their priests are said to be descended from a Brahman father and Nadiyal mother, but for all practical purposes they are Nadiyals and inter-marry with Nadiyal girls. In Mangaldai, the Nadiyals are said to be divided into three sections, the Muchi or traders, the Kheoli or wholesale, and the Machua or retail fish-sellers.

The Rabhas are a section of the Bodo race and appear The Rab-  
has. to be an offshoot of the Garos.

Males	... 7,517	Their language is closely akin to
Females	... 7,914	Garo, and their original habitat
		seems to have been the northern slopes of the

Garo Hills. Certain sections of the tribe, which live on the borders of that district, have no word for north and south, but describe the former idea by Bhutan, the latter by Tura; a fact which pretty clearly indicates the locality from which they originally came. Most of the Rabhas have, however, left their ancestral home and settled in the Mangaldai subdivision of Darrang, Kamrup, and Goalpara. In Goalpara, Rabhas are divided into the following seven sections—Rangdania, Pati, Maitariya, Koch, Bitlia, Dahiria, and Sangha; but these subdivisions are not recognized in Darrang. There the tribe is divided into various groups which have apparently a totemistic origin. The *phalmals* fast when their ploughs break, the *maihaus* when their buffaloes die, the *baghuals* mourn the death of a tiger, and so on. Like the other animistic tribes they are fond of beer, pork, and chicken, but they abstain from beef. Their villages are not unlike those of the Kacharis. They have gardens, and fruit trees, but pigs and fowls do much damage and the homestead is very different from the green dankery of bamboos, fruit trees, and vegetables which surrounds the houses of the Assamese. Agriculture is their usual occupation, and rice the staple crop grown. What money they require is usually obtained by selling rice or poultry or by working on the roads or on tea gardens. Adult marriage is in vogue, and the lover is required to pay for the object of his affections. The usual price is from Rs. 25 to Rs. 60, but, if the money is not forthcoming, the bridegroom works in the house of his father-in-law ; one year's labour being considered.

the equivalent of about Rs. 20 in cash. Vermillion is smeared on the bride's forehead, a practice which does not obtain amongst most of the aboriginal tribes, but the essential part of the ceremony is the killing of two fowls and the feasting of the villagers. The Pati Rabhas go further than this, and model their procedure as closely as possible on the Hindu ceremony. The dead too are generally burned, unless an epidemic is in progress, when it is thought that the infection might be conveyed in the smoke of the funeral pyre. In their unconverted state they worship deities known as Bharali and Kubir Gosain and make offerings to the spirits of the forest and the marsh. Like the Kacharis they are very sceptical as to the possibility of a life after death.

The Koches are one of the race castes of Assam. Originally they were an aboriginal tribe, apparently of Mongolian origin, which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, rose to power under their great leader Viswa Singh. His son, Nar Narayan, extended his conquests as far as Upper Assam, Tippera, and Manipur, and by the middle of the sixteenth century, the Koch king had attained to a position of such power that the aboriginal people were anxious to be enrolled as members of his tribe. The result is that at the present day the name is no longer that of a tribe but of a caste into which new converts to Hinduism are enrolled. In Sibsagar and Lakhimpur, these converts still retain their tribal names, and the Koch is a respectable Sudra caste, which is not broken up into various subdivisions. This is not the case in Lower

The Raj-  
bansi or  
Koch.

Assam, and the different groups are there allotted a different status, which is dependent on the time that has elapsed since conversion took place, and the extent to which aboriginal habits have been shaken off. The principal subdivision is the Bar Koch, who are looked upon as a clean Sudra caste and from whose hands Brahmins will take water. The same distinction is not accorded to the Saru Koch, though they conform in most essentials to the somewhat lax standard of Hinduism exacted in Assam. Three other subdivisions are graded in accordance with the extent to which they have forsaken the attractions of unconverted life. The Kamtali abstain from intoxicating liquor and usually from pork ; the Hiremia still keep pigs but no longer indulge in the use of liquor; while the Madahi are Hindus only to the extent of having taken *saran*, and still permit themselves great freedom in all matters of food and drink. The Koches are widely distributed all over the district, but are especially numerous in Mangaldai.

**Religion.**

Classified by religion the population of Darrang was distributed in the following proportions in 1901 :—Hindus, 71 per cent ; Animistic tribes, 23 per cent ; and Muhammadans, 5 per cent.

**Saktism.**

Of the Hindus who specified their sect, 27 per cent returned themselves as Saktists, or worshippers of the reproductive powers of nature as manifested in the female. Two-fifths of these Saktists were, however, censused on the tea gardens, and a considerable number of the Saktists in the villages were probably ex-garden coolies. To people such as these, Saktism, with its toleration of

liquor and animal sacrifice, would appeal more strongly than the milder and more civilized tenets of the Vaishnavites. Appended to this chapter will be found a list of the temples in Darrang which are endowed with grants of land. They are styled temples for want of a better name, though many of them now are nothing more than little huts of reeds and thatch.

Sivaitism is the counterpart of Saktism, and is concerned with the worship of the procreative energy as manifested in the male. In 1901, only 1,656 persons in Darrang professed this special form of Hinduism.

Seventy-two per cent of the Hindus who returned their sect in 1901 declared their adherence to the milder tenets of the Vaishnavites. This form of Hinduism is thus described in the Assam Census Report for 1901 :

Sankar Deb, the apostle of Vaishnavism in Assam, was born in 1449 A.D., and was the descendant of a Kayastha, who, according to tradition, had been sent, with six of his caste fellows and seven Brahmins, to Assam by the king of Kanaijpur as a substitute for the Assamese prime minister, who had fled to his court for refuge. The licentious rites of Saktism had aroused his aversion while he was still a boy, and his desire to found a purer system of religion was increased by the teachings of Chaitanya in Bengal.\* Like most reformers, he met with vehement opposition from the supporters of the established order, and he was compelled to leave his home in Nowgong and to fly to the inhospitable jungles of the Barpeta subdivision, where, in conjunction with his disciple, Madhab Deb, he founded the Mahapurushia sect, the main tenets of which are the prohibition of idolatry and sacrifice, disregard of caste, and the worship of God by hymns and prayers only. Sankar himself was, like a true follower of Chaitanya, a vegetarian, but the low-caste people, who formed a large proportion of his converts, found his injunction a

\* The Assamese do not admit that Sankar Deb was, in any sense of the word, a disciple of Chaitanya.

counsel of perfection, and the Mahapurushias are accordingly allowed to eat the flesh of game, but not of domesticated animals, though, with a subtlety only too common in this country, they observe the letter of the law, prohibiting the spilling of blood, by beating their victims to death. The great centre of the Mahapurushia faith is the sattrā at Barpeta, where a large number of persons persist in living huddled together, in defiance of all the laws of sanitation, and resist with surprising pertinacity all efforts to improve their condition. They are a peculiarly bigoted people, and are strongly opposed to vaccination, with the result that the mortality from small-pox in the neighbourhood of the sattrā is exceptionally high. It was not long, however, before the Brahmans re-asserted their influence, and, shortly after Sankar's death, two of his followers, who were members of this caste, established sects, called, after their founders, Damodariya and Hari Deb Panthi, which are distinguished from the Mahapurushias by the respect paid to the distinctions of caste, and a certain tolerance of idolatry. A fourth sect was founded by one Gopal Deb, but it originally seems to have differed in no way from the Mahapurushia creed, and subsequently its followers adopted the teachings of Deb Damodar. There is, in fact, practically no distinction between the Damodariyas, the Hari Deb Panthis, and the Gopal Deb Panthis, and the Vaishnavites of the Assam Valley can be divided into the Mahapurushia and Bamunia or "other Vaishnavas," as they have been called in the census tables. The former will accept a Sudra as a religious guide, worship no god but Krishna, and are uncompromising in their hostility to idols; the latter will only recognize Brahmins as their gosains, permit the adoration of other deities, such as Siva and Kali, in addition to that of Krishna, and allow sacrifices to be offered in their honour. The Bamunias are also more liberal in their diet, and will eat goats, pigeons, and ducks, a form of food that is not allowed to orthodox Vaishnavites in Bengal.

Madhab Deb, like most religious reformers, was a strict disciplinarian. The story goes that the breach between him and Gopal Deb arose one stormy day when the party were returning to Barpeta by boat. Gopal Deb, anxious for the safety of his teacher, apostrophized the storm clouds passing overhead, and begged them to restrain their fury till Madhab had reached

the shore in safety. This innocent remark was construed into an invocation of Varuna, the god of rain ; Gopal Deb was denounced as an idolater and was incontinently, by order of Madhab, flung out of the boat. Such treatment was enough to damp the enthusiasm of the most ardent disciple. Gopal Deb, wallowing in the water, gallantly shouted out defiance to his former leader, and warned him that in future he would be treated with uncompromising opposition. Thirty-nine per cent. of the Vaishnavites in Darrang in 1901 were said to be members of the Mahapurushia sect, the great majority of whom were censused is the *sadr* subdivision.

Every Vaishnavite is the disciple of some particular Gosains and Sattras. gosain or priest, to whom each year he sends an offering which varies from four annas to four or five rupees, according to his means. These subscriptions are collected by the *medhi*, or agent of the gosain, who is accorded a position of some dignity at village feasts, and sometimes ranks as high as the *gaobura*, or head man appointed by the Government. For the Mahapurushias the centre of religious life is Barpeta. In the eastern portion of the district most of the Vaishnavites, who are not Mahapurushias, are disciples of the great gosains of Auniati, Dakhinpat, and Garamur, whose *sattras* are situated on the Majuli in the Sibsagar district ; though some are followers of the Kuruabahi gosain of Nowgong, and others of the Moamaria gosain of Lakhimpur. In Mangaldai, the great gosains of the Majuli claim many followers, but a certain number of the people are the disciples of the petty gosains whose *sattras* are situated in Darrang. A

list of these *sattras* is appended to this chapter. In each village there is a *namghar* or large barn like structure, in which the people assemble for prayer and song, and which serves as a centre for the religious and social life of the place.

**Muham-**  
**madanism.**

Only one-twentieth of the population in 1901 declared themselves to be followers of the Prophet. The great bulk of these persons were living in the Mangaldai subdivision, about half of them being inhabitants of the Patharughat tahsil, which is situated in the extreme south-west corner of the district. In the seventeenth century A.D., the Muhammadans were, from time to time, in possession of Gauhati and the whole of Kamrup, and were able to make their influence felt immediately beyond their borders. But the expeditions they despatched up to the Bhareli would naturally have no permanent effect, and in the eastern part of the district they did not make any converts. After the expulsion of the Musalmans from Kamrup in 1681 A.D. the simple villagers, who had been converted to the faith of Islam, began to forget the principles of their religion, and to be gradually affected by the customs of their Hindu neighbours. They practised circumcision and offered prayers after the Muhammadan fashion it is true, but they could not read the Koran, and service was held in the open fields, as there were no buildings set apart for the purpose. They dressed, shaved, and worshipped idols like Hindus, they eschewed beef and declined to kill a cow, and in times of sickness and trouble endeavoured to obtain relief by reciting *mantras* and singing hymns. This state of affairs is said

to have continued till 1880, when a revival of the true Muhammadan faith was inaugurated by a preacher called Zalkad Ali or Safi Saheb, who came from Gauhati and spent some years in the subdivision of Mangaldai. Fired by his example the Muhammadans abandoned their Hindu superstitions, allowed their beards to grow, and took to eating beef. Thatched houses were erected to serve as mosques, and the ordinary villager at the present day conforms, outwardly at any rate, to the dictates of the Muhammadan faith. They have not, however, succeeded in entirely freeing themselves of the ideas they borrowed from the Hindus, and, when cholera or small-pox appear in epidemic form, secretly recite *mantras*, in the hope that by this means they may be preserved from falling ill. Cases of proselytism are extremely rare, and, during the last fifteen years, only two persons in the whole of the Patharughat tahsil are said to have been converted to the faith of Islam.

Most men find considerable difficulty in giving a ~~Animism.~~ clear and intelligible account of the faith that is in them, and the unconverted tribesmen are no exception to the general rule. Broadly speaking, their religious beliefs seem to fall under the following heads. Unlike the German metaphysician, they have no uncomfortable doubts with regard to their own existence and the existence of the material world. To account for the production of these visible phenomena, they put forward various theories, which are hardly more improbable than the accounts of the creation given in most religious systems. But the way in which the world came into exist-

ence is, after all, a matter of no very great importance, and the essential object of religion is to ensure a comfortable passage through life to its followers. No country or community is exempt from pain and trouble, and to the dwellers in the plains of India has been allotted a fairly liberal portion of the ills of life. When the cattle die, or small-pox or cholera visit the village, or other trouble comes, it is only natural to suppose that somebody or something is the cause of these misfortunes. The simple tribesmen then endeavour to ascertain the particular spirit from whose displeasure they are suffering, and to appease him in whatever way they can.

The great bulk of the animistic population was censused in Mangaldai in the Kalaigaon tahsil and the mauzas at the foot of the Bhutan Hills, and more than two-thirds of them were Kacharis.

**Minor religions.**—Religions which were not strongly represented in the district in 1901 were :—Buddhists (494), Jains (269), Brahmos (35), and Sikhs (9). Nearly all the Buddhists are temporary visitors who come down during the cold weather to the fairs held at the foot of the hills, and from there disperse about the country. There are, however, three Bhutia families, who for the last 25 years have been living in the Paneri grant village in mauza Jhaprabari in Mangaldai; and a few of the Nepalese settlers describe themselves as Buddhists. The Jains are “Kaiyas,” or merchants from Rajputana, who have succeeded in securing a practical monopoly of the wholesale trade of the district. The Brahmos are educated natives, most of whom were censused in Tezpur town,

The Christian population of Darrang is not large, and, Christians. in spite of the efforts of a representative of the Society for the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts, who for many years has laboured amongst the Kachari population of Mangaldai, there were only 1,128 native Christians in 1901. The great majority of those who returned their sect were members of the Anglican communion, but nearly 300 natives took refuge in the generic term of "Kistan," without pledging themselves to support any one of the numerous sects into which that religion is divided. Christianity seems, however, to be spreading steadily, if very slowly, as in 1881 there were only 235 native Christians and, in 1891, 642.

The occupations recorded at the census of 1901 were Occupation. divided into eight main classes, and the numbers returned under each head were as follows:—

	Total number.	Percentage.
Government...	1,192	...
Pasture and agriculture...	311,518	92
Personal services	3,877	1
Preparation and supply of material substances,	9,607	3
Commerce, transport and storage	3,437	1
Professions ...	1,853	1
Unskilled labour not agricultural ...	1,774}	
Means of subsistence independent of occupation	4,055	2

The district is a purely rural one, and no less than 92 per cent of the population were supported by agriculture. Nearly one-fourth of these persons were employed as garden coolies, and the immense majority of the remainder were small farmers who hold their land direct from the State, and cultivate it with their own hands. Most of them were found in Mangaldai, where the

representatives of the family of the Darrang Rajas hold a considerable area at privileged rates of revenue. There were altogether in the district in 1901, 16,468 persons returned as tenants and their dependents. Others were garden coolies who rent land which had been prepared for cultivation by the Assamese. There is, however, in the district such an abundance of good land awaiting settlement that the number of tenants must of necessity be small, and there is little risk of oppressive rents being asked or paid. The only non-agricultural occupation, if occupation it can be called, which supported as much as one per cent of the total population was begging. The majority of these beggars were women, and were probably old widows supported by the charity of their neighbours.

**Reasons for preponderance of agriculture.** The extraordinary preponderance of agriculture as a means of occupation is due to two causes. In the first place the district is a purely rural one, it contains only one small town, and the urban population is only a little more than one per cent of the whole. There is, moreover, an almost complete absence of the functional castes. There is no village barber or dhobi in the Assam Valley, and, though there are a considerable number of Jugis in Darrang, they no longer earn their living at the loom. It would hardly be correct to say that they have forsaken their traditional occupation, as they, in common with most of the villagers in Darrang, are weavers. The work is, however, carried on by the women; and only enough clothing is produced to satisfy the requirements of the family, or perhaps to leave a few silk cloths over to sell when money is wanted to satisfy the

land revenue demand. Occupation has not been specialized in the Assam Valley, and each household supplies almost all its simple wants. The fishing and boating castes are not strongly represented, and many of their members have either abandoned their traditional occupation for agriculture, or have, at any rate, preferred to return it as a more respectable avocation on the census schedules. The number of priests in Darrang is also small: The occupations returned at the census of 1901 were divided into 520 separate classes, and the figures for each class will be found in Part II of the Report on the Census of that year. These figures do not, however, lend themselves readily to review, as agriculture is practically the beginning and end of all things in Darrang.

The forms of marriage in vogue are the *hompura*,\* <sup>*Marriage customs.*</sup> or full Hindu rite, when the sacred fire is lighted and a priest is engaged to perform the ceremony; the *kharu moni pindha*, in which a feast is given to the friends and relations and ornaments are given to the girl; and the system under which the bridegroom, who is called a *capaniya*, enters the house of his prospective father-in-law, and works for his wife as Jacob worked for Rachel. Brahmans, Kayasthas, and well-to-do Kalitas invariably perform the *hompura* ceremony, which sometimes costs as much as Rs. 500. This expenditure is incurred on the purchase of ornaments and clothing, on the payment of priests, musicians, and palki bearers, and on a feast to the relations and friends, the principal ingredients of

\*A description of this ceremony as practised in Assam will be found on p. 63 of the Census Report for 1901.

which are rice, molasses, curds and betelnut. The practice of taking a bride price is fairly common, especially in the western part of the district. In this particular there is a great difference between the customs in vogue in Upper and Lower Assam. In Upper Assam it is considered a mark of respectability to give your daughter away ; in Lower Assam the custom of asking a bride price is almost universal, even amongst the Brahmans. Darrang, as is natural, occupies a more or less intermediate position, and on the west attorns to the customs of Lower, and on the east to the customs of Upper Assam. If the price demanded is too high the young people often take the law into their own hands, and the girl arranges to have herself abducted ; as, when her lover has once obtained possession of her person, he is generally able to induce the parents to be more moderate in their demands. This form of marriage by capture is very common amongst Nadiyals, Brittial Baniyas, and Charals or Namasudras.

सत्यमेव जयते

The *caponiya* is generally accorded all the privileges of a husband, as soon as the parents of the girl are satisfied that he intends to remain faithful to his engagements. In Upper Assam the *caponiya* is looked down upon, but his position is somewhat better in Darrang. Marriage, even by the simplest rites, entails a heavy charge upon the bridegroom. The ordinary cultivator seems to spend about one hundred rupees upon his wedding, a sum out of all proportion either to his capital or income. The result is that many men have to borrow at high rates of interest to obtain a wife, and are

often crippled for years by the expenses incurred on the occasion of their marriage. Ahoms are often married by the *chaklong* rite, in which the box in which betelnut is carried (*temi*) and the knife with which it is cut (*katari*) are exchanged, and the nuptial knot is tied. The *Jhopa goriya* form of marriage is also in use amongst the Nadiyals at the eastern end of the district. The bride and bridegroom are led round five or six baskets, and the one raises and the other, following close behind, closes the lids.

Feasts, singing parties, and *bhaonas* or simple theatrical performances are the principal amusements of the villagers. The *bhaonas* are often held in temporary sheds constructed by the road side, and on a winter's morning the traveller who is early abroad frequently comes upon parties of revellers still lingering over the pleasures of the previous night. The *dol jatra* or festival in honour of Krishna in February or March, when the image of the god is swung to and fro, and the people pelt one another with red powder in memory of his amorous exploits with the milk maids of Brindaban, is observed indeed, but with much less ceremony than in other parts of India.\* The *Janmastami* in honour of Krishna's birth in August or September, and the *Sivaratri* in memory of Siva in March, are kept as fasts rather than feasts. The *Durga puja* is observed by Saktists.

The special festivals of the Assamese are the three <sup>The Bihu.</sup> *Bihus*, and the *sradh* ceremonies of Sankar Deb and

\* This festival is, however, in high favour with the garden coolies, by whom it is called the *Fagua*.

Madhab Deb, the founders of the Mahapurushia sect. The Kartik Bihu is celebrated on the last day of Asvin (about October 14th), and is not an occasion of very much importance. Hymns are sung in honour of god, and, in place of their usual meal of hot rice and curry, the people take cold food, such as curds, molasses, plantains, and cold rice. The Magh Bihu is the harvest home, and begins on the last day of Pous (about January 14th). For weeks beforehand tall heaps of rice straw piled round a central pole are a prominent feature in the rural landscape. At the dawn of day, the villagers bathe and warm their chilled bodies at these bonfires; a very necessary precaution, as, at this season of the year, the mornings are always cold and generally foggy. The Magh Bihu is to some extent a children's festival, and most of the jollification is confined to the smaller boys, who sing and dance, and feast in small grass huts that have been constructed for the purpose. The Baisakh Bihu, which begins on the last day of Choet (April 14th), is in honour of the new year. The cattle are smeared with oil mixed with matikalai, turmeric, and rice, and are then taken to the nearest stream and bathed. The villagers go from house to house visiting their friends and relatives, and offer them presents of cloth and other things. Buffalo fights are organized in the rice fields, but these contests are rather tame affairs, and the animals very seldom injure one another. This Bihu is an occasion of some license, as boys and girls dance together in the fields and sing suggestive songs, and lapses from chastity between members of the same caste

are considered almost venial. This is the season of the year when runaway matches are most common, and during the next few weeks the outraged but avaricious parent, complaining of the abduction of his daughter, is by no means an uncommon sight in the local courts. The *sradh* ceremony of Sankar Deb is celebrated in August—September, and that of Madhab three days before the *Janmastami*. All work is laid aside on these two days, and the people devote their time to feasting and the singing of hymns.

**STATEMENT A.**  
*Sattras.*

Manza.	Name of Sattras.	Mauza.	Name of Sattras.
TEZPUR SUBDIVISION. BRAHMAN GOSAIN,		MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION. BRAHMAN GOSAIN.	
Haleswar ...	Patikhati (Bakori).	Chinakona ...	Supuha.
Mahabhairab ...	Muroli. ...	Mangaldai ...	Boinara.
KAYASTHA GOSAIN.			Autola.
Bargaon ...	Bargaon ...		Bhagavati.
Haleswar.	{ Balipukhuri ... Gatanga.	Sarabari ...	Devananda.
Mahabhairab.	Bali.. Boralimara. Ketekibari. Modarguri. Nikamal.		Haripur.

## STATEMENT B.

*Temples.*

Mauza in which situated.	Name of temple.	AMOUNT OF LAND HELD		Name of founder and date of foundation,	Brief description of temple building.
		Revenue free.	Half rates.		
TEZPUR SUB-DIVISION.	Barbhogia...	Bighas	Bighas		
		...	83	Not known.	Thatched roof with reed and plaster walls.
		Jogeswar ...	33	Rudra Singh about 1705 A.D.	Ditto
		Muktinath...	68	Not known.	Ditto
		Nandikeswar	1,092	Rudra Singh in 1697 A. D.	Thatched roof brick wall, stone floor.
		Rudrapad ...	301	Sib Singh about 1730 A. D.	A shelter without walls over a stone on which there are two footprints of Siva.
		Saubbagya Madhub.	656	Rudra Singh in 1707 A. D.	Thatched house with reed and plaster walls.
		Sukleswar ...	7	Not known.	Ditto
	Barchola ...	Singri ...	106	Do. ...	Masonry building.
	Bargaon ...	Kirang ...	144	Do.	Thatched house with reed and plaster walls.
Bishnath ...	Orang	...	367	Do.	Ditto
	Bardol	...	22	...	Not known ...
	Basudeb	...	12	...	Rajeswar Singh in 1758 A. D.
					There was originally a brick temple, which now has fallen into disrepair.

Manza in which situated.	Name of temple.	AMOUNT OF LAND HELD		Name of founder and date of foundation.	Brief description of temple building.
		Revenue free.	Half rates.		
Bishnath— (contd.)	Bishnath ...	908	...	Gadadhar Singh in 1685 A. D.	There is no building but a lingum which goes under water in the rains.
	Bauramadhab...	32	...	Sib Singh about 1730 A. D.	Thatched house with reed and plaster walls.
	Chandi ...	2	...	Gadadhar Singh about 1690 A.D.	Granite floor, brick wall with tin roof.
	Kamaleswar...	146	...	Kamaleswar Singh about 1800 A. D.	Reed walls plastered with mud, thatched roof.
	Purba Sankar	90	...	Sib Singh about 1730 A. D.	Ditto
	Surja Madhab	125	...	Gadadhar Singh about 1685 A.D.	Ditto
Chutia ...	Uma ...	100	...	Sib Singh in 1741 A. D.	Reed walls plastered with mud, iron roof.
	Dulal Madhab	...	72	Not known ...	Reed walls plastered with mud, thatched roof.
Gohpur ...	Nag Sankar...	837	...	Naga Matta ...	Reed walls plastered with mud, iron roof.
	Dhandi ...	...	232	Rudra Singh about 1705 A.D.	Thatched house with reed and plaster walls.
	Kaliani ...	...	72	Not known ...	Ditto
	Phulbari ...	...	318	Rudra Singh about 1705 A.D.	Ditto

Mauza in which situated.	Name of temple.	AMOUNT OF LAND HELD		Name of founder and date of foundation.	Brief description of temple building.
		Revenue free.	Half rates.		
		Bighas	Bighas		
Haleswar,	Haleswar ...	...	902	Rudra. Singh about 1705 A.D.	Masonry floor and walls and thatched roof.
	Sukleswar ...	...	75	Not known ...	Brick floor, thatched roof and reed wall.
Mahabhairab	Bhairabi ...	...	864	Do.	Brick wall and corrugated iron roof.
	Bhairabpad ...	...	67	Do.	Masonry floor and walls, thatched roof.
	Hinduleswar...	...	97	Do.	Brick floor, corrugated iron roof and reed walls.
	Mahabhairab.	...	155	Do.	Brick walls and corrugated iron roof.
	Tingeswar ...	...	33	Do.	Masonry floor and walls and thatched roof.
MANGALDAI SUB-DIVISION,					
Chinakona...	Tamreswar ...	28	873	Do.	Temple is of timber and thatch.
Dipila ...	Rudreswar ...	...	587	Do.	Do.
Howli Mo-	Bura Gosain	789	...	Do.	Do.
hanpur.	Buri Gosaini...	803	...	Do.	Do.
Petuachubri	Deolpur ...	91	...	Do.	Old brick temple, is in ruins, a temporary house is built every year.
	Nalkamara ...	45	...	Do.	Temple is of timber and thatch.
Silpota ...	Mura ...	...	669	Do.	Do.
Sonaigaon ...	Bhairabkunda	46	...	Do.	No temple. People go to bathe in the Kunda (pool), which is considered to be sacred.

## CHAPTER IV.

### AGRICULTURE AND FORESTS.

Crops grown—Rice—Mustard—Pulses—Fibres—Storage and threshing of grain—Agricultural implements—Sugarcane—Preparation of molasses—Causes affecting productiveness of land—Garden crops—Yield and value of crops—Floods and irrigation—General remarks—Live stock—Grazing—Cattle disease—Commencement of tea industry—The boom in the early sixties—Scarcity of labour—Collapse in 1866—Expansion of the industry—Labour supply—Site of tea gardens—Soil—Varieties of plant—System of cultivation—System of manufacture—Outturn and prices—Forests—System of management—The reserved forests—Timber trees—Rubber—List of important reserves.

The staple food crop of the district is rice, which in 1902-03 covered 67 per cent of the total cropped area. Other important crops are tea (14 per cent), and orchard and garden crops (9 per cent), but a large part of the area shown under this head is occupied by the homestead, and it is doubtful whether as much as one half is actually under cultivation. Mustard occupied 5 per cent of the total cropped area, miscellaneous food grains, nearly all of which are different forms of pulse, 4 per cent, and sugarcane 0.7 per cent. Wheat, barley, and gram, the food grains of Upper India, are grown in small patches by immigrants from those parts, but the total area under these three crops in 1902-03 was only 27 acres. A small quantity of maize is also grown

by foreigners. The general system of cultivation and the manner in which the staple crops are raised is described in the following paragraphs. The area under different crops will be found in Table VII.

**Rice. Sali.** Rice falls under three main heads—*sali*, *ahu*, and *bao*, the proportion of the total rice area normally occupied by each of these three classes, being—*sali* 79 per cent, *ahu* 18 per cent, and *bao* 3 per cent. *Sali* dhan, or transplanted winter rice, is first sown in little beds or nurseries (*kothiutoli*) near the homestead. The land is broken up in April or May, is ploughed five or six times, and is generally manured with cowdung and sweepings. The seed, which has been selected from the largest ears of the previous year's crop, is sown broadcast over the bed in May and June. It comes up a rich emerald green, and at the beginning of summer these patches of the brightest green herbage are a striking feature in the rural landscape. In the meanwhile the fields are being got ready for the reception of the seedlings. The husbandman starts ploughing as soon as the soil is softened by the spring rain, and repeats the process from four to eight times, till he has reduced the land to a rich puddle of mud. After the third ploughing the field is harrowed, the little embankments, a few inches high, intended to retain the water are repaired, and if the fields adjoin the road or the village site they are fenced in with split bamboo. When the seedlings are about seven or eight weeks old, they are taken from the nursery bed and carried in large bundles (*akhi*) to the field. Here they are planted out in hand-

fuls (*gucha*), each of which contains four or five plants. The distance at which these are planted from one another depends upon the fertility of the soil, but the handfuls are generally placed about 18 inches apart. It is usually the practice to steep the young plants in water before they are planted out, and, unless they are weak and stunted, the tops are cut off at the time when they are removed from the nursery. Transplanting goes on from the beginning of July to the middle of September, and is generally carried out by women. The work is of a most arduous description, and involves stooping for hours in a field of liquid mud, under the rays of a burning tropical sun. Before the end of the rains the crop is fully grown, though the ears are still empty, but about the beginning of October they begin to fill, and the field to turn to a rich yellow. From the middle of November to the middle of January harvesting is going on. Women are not employed on this work in Mangaldai, but in Tezpur, as in Upper Assam, both sexes cut the grain. The reapers grasp a handful of the ears and cut them off about eight inches below the head. These handfuls (*muthi*) are tied up with a piece of straw and left in the field for a few days to dry. When the grain is ready to be transported to the granary, the *muthis* are made into large sheaves. Six to eight *muthis* form a *thor* or *jhap*, and five or six *thors* a *dangari*. A *dangari* is then affixed to either end of a sharp pointed bamboo called *biriya*, and the load, which is called a *bhar* and carried across the shoulder, is taken to the homestead by the men.

The different kinds of *sali* dhan fall under two main divisions, *luhi* and *bar*. *Lahi* ripens earlier than *bar*, and though the grain is of a finer quality the yield is appreciably smaller. It is planted on the higher fields which dry up first at the conclusion of the rains, and which are thus not suitable for *bar*. Altogether there are said to be no less than 68 different varieties of *sali* dhan in the district.

**Bao dhan.** *Bao* dhan is sown broadcast about the beginning of May, the field having been previously prepared by four or five ploughings. It is grown in flooded tracts, and the embankments made between the fields are smaller than in the case of *sali*, and are sometimes dispensed with altogether. It ripens about the middle of December and is harvested in the same way as *sali*. Five-sixths of the *bao* crop is raised in the tahsils of Patharughat, Mangaldai, and Tezpur.

**Ahu dhan.** *Ahu* or summer rice is grown either on irrigated land in the submontane tracts (*kharma ahu*) or on low land near the Brahmaputra. For low land cultivation the usual procedure is as follows :—

In May the jungle is pressed down and burnt, and the land left till towards the end of the rains. The jungle that has sprung up in the interval is cleared in the same way, the process being known as *gojala kata*, and ploughing begins in January. The field is ploughed three times and harrowed, and the clods are broken up by a mallet. Another ploughing and harrowing follow, the seed is sown, and the land again ploughed and harrowed, to ensure that the grain becomes thoroughly mixed with

the soil. When the plants are about six inches high and catch the wind *botah boloah*, they are harrowed again and weeded, and finally harvested about the end of August. The crop is, however, a precarious one, and is liable to be destroyed by a sudden rise of the river. The plants can live under water for as much as a week, but if after this time the floods do not retire they are permanently destroyed. *Ahu* is often grown on the *chaporis* in conjunction with mustard, and no jungle cutting is of course required when the soil has been already cleared for the oil seed crop. The same field is seldom cropped for more than three years in succession. The weeds which were unable to find a lodging under the dense growth of *ikra* (*saccharum arundinaceum*), *khagori* (*saccharum spontaneum*) and *nal* (*phragmites roxburghii*), with which the land in its natural state is covered, soon spring up when once the jungle has been removed. After the third year it is less trouble to burn fresh jungle than to clean the old fields of weeds, and by a change of site the peasant gets the further advantage of a manure of ashes for his next year's crop.

*Kharma ahu* is transplanted, and the system of cultivation does not differ materially from that employed in the case of *sali*, except that it is both sown and harvested much earlier than winter rice. It is generally grown on land which is irrigated from the hill streams, and is extensively cultivated in the north of Mangaldai. The bulk of the *ahu* in Darrang is, however, *chaporis ahu*.

Mustard, as has already been said, is usually grown **Mustard.** in conjunction with *ahu* on the riparian flats. The

jungle is cut down in February and March, and, if the land cannot be prepared in time for summer rice, is allowed to rot upon the ground. What remains is burned in October, the stumps are dug out, and the land is then ploughed over four or five times. The seed is sown about the beginning of November, and the plant is ready to be pulled from the field about the middle of February. It is generally left to dry for a few days, and is then tied in bundles and carried to the homestead, where it is threshed out by the cattle. Mustard is grown all along the banks of the Brahmaputra to a greater or a less degree. The area under this crop in the Patharughat talhsil is particularly large

**Pulses.**

Pulse is usually grown on the alluvial flats that fringe the Brahmaputra, in conjunction with summer rice and mustard, but a crop is often taken from the land on which rice seedlings, early rice, and sugarcane have been grown, as it is generally and rightly thought to improve the quality of the soil. In the *chaporis* if new land is taken up the first proceeding is to cut and burn the reeds and grass. Only two ploughings are required, and those are of the very lightest character, and, if the ground is naturally clear of jungle, the seed is sometimes simply sown on the river flats as soon as the floods subside. Pulse is also scattered broadcast amongst the rice stubble, or between the *sali* plants, if the land is still soft, but this method is not generally in use. The seed is sown in September and the crop is ripe about four months later. The plants are pulled up by the roots, left for a few days in the field to dry, and

are then collected at the convenience of the cultivator. The seeds are threshed out by cattle, but as the grains do not separate readily from the pods, their efforts are supplemented by a man with a flail. Several different kinds of pulse are grown, but nine-tenths of the crop belong to the variety known as *mati-mah* (*phaseolus mungo v. radiatus*). Other kinds are *magu-mah* (*phaseolus mungo*) a species which has a smaller yield and requires more careful cultivation, but commands a higher price and possesses a more delicate flavour. It is seldom grown except on the river *chaporis*. *Kala-mah* (*lathyrus sativus*), is grown, but not in any considerable quantities. It has a large yield, but does not fetch a high price. Pulse, like mustard, is usually grown on the river *chaporis*, but, while there is very little pulse in Gohpur, there is a certain amount of high land pulse in Balipara and Kalaigaon.

Jute is grown in small patches as a garden crop. The fibres. seeds are generally sown in April, and the plants are cut in August and September, stripped of their leaves, tied in bundles, and left to rot in pools of water for from seven to twelve days. When they are ready a handful of stems is taken up, broken in the middle, and beaten to and fro in the water, till the inner part drops out and only the fibre remains. The bundles of fibre are then dried and are ready for use ; but the area under jute is at present absolutely inconsiderable. Small patches of rhea (*boehmeria nivea*) are grown in the gardens of the fishing castes, where it is heavily manured. The skin is stripped off from the stem and the fibre separated from the

outer covering. The thread obtained is exceptionally strong and durable, but the difficulty of decortication has hitherto prevented the growth of rhea on a commercial scale.

**Storage and threshing of grain.** In the Mangaldai subdivision the rice is threshed as soon as it has been brought from the field, but in Tezpur the stalk and ear are stored together in the granary (*bhural*). When it is required for use the sheaves are untied and spread over the courtyard. Cattle are then driven round and round over the heap of grain and straw till the ears have been finally separated from the stalk.\* The grain is next passed through a sieve, and placed in a flat bamboo tray called *kula*. It is then jerked into the air and allowed to fall back into the tray, or held aloft and allowed to fall slowly to the ground, till gradually the chaff is carried off. After threshing the paddy is stored in huge drums, called *dhols*. They are made of split bamboo, and the outer surface is plastered over with clay and cowdung.

**Agricultural implements.** The agricultural implements in use are of a very simple character. The plough is usually made of the jack fruit tree or some other hard wood, and consists of three parts, the handle and body, which are usually all in one piece, the pole, which joins the plough at the junction of the handle and the body, and the yoke, which is merely a piece of wood, fastened by rope at right angles to the pole, with pegs affixed to it to keep it from sliding from the necks of the bullocks. The front portion of the body

\* An experiment made by Mr. Darrah, Director of Land Records and Agriculture, showed that nine bullocks took 2 hours and 8 minutes to thresh out  $7\frac{1}{2}$  maunds of paddy.

is sharpened to a point which is shod with iron, and in soft soil a piece of bamboo is sometimes substituted for the iron. This piece of iron is the only portion of the plough which the farmer has to purchase. The rest he makes for himself. The whole instrument is suited to the wretched class of animal required to draw it. It weighs as a rule about 20 lbs. and when cattle are used the yoke seldom stands as much as 36 inches from the ground. When buffaloes are employed the whole plough is constructed on a larger scale. It is obvious that such an implement can only penetrate from three to four inches into the soil, but the wretched quality of the plough cattle prohibits the use of a more effective instrument.

The harrow (*moi*) is generally a bamboo ladder, about other implements. eight feet in length, on which a man stands as it is drawn across the field. It is used to crush the clods turned up by the plough before mustard or summer rice is sown, and to reduce the fields required for wet rice to puddle. Its place is sometimes taken by a plain log of wood. It is prepared by the cultivator himself from the bamboos growing in his garden. Clods are broken by the mallet (*doli bari*) which is also made at home. Hoes (*kor*) are used to trim the embankments (*alis*) which help to retain the water. The head is bought in the bazar and costs from Re. 1 to Re. 1-4, and is fitted with a shaft by the farmer himself. Sickles (*kachi*), with which the rice is reaped, have also to be purchased, and cost from two to four annas. In *ahu* cultivation a large wooden rake (*bindha*), with teeth nearly one foot in

length, is dragged over the crop by a bullock, when the plants are about six inches high. The *khanti*, a kind of trowel with a long handle, is used for weeding *ahu* rice. The sugarcane mill is described in the paragraph dealing with the preparation of molasses. The ordinary implement used for husking grain is the *dheki*, a long beam with a pestle affixed at the end, which is supported by two posts at about two-thirds of the length from the head. The shorter end is depressed by the foot, and the pestle is thus raised into the air; the weight is then removed, and the pestle falls into a small hole, in a piece of wood sunk level with the ground, in which the grain is placed. The *dheki* is the implement ordinarily employed by the Assamese to husk their rice or pulse, but the animistic tribes generally use a large wooden mortar (*ural*) and a pestle (*mari*). All of these implements are made at home.

**Sugarcane.** Sugarcane (*saccharum officinarum*) is propagated from the tops of the best canes, which are cut off at harvest time and kept in a shady place. One of these tops yields on the average about five canes, and, as they contain but little juice, the cultivator does not sacrifice much of the gross product of his fields in the cause of reproduction. Four principal varieties of the plant are recognized. The *bagi* or white stands about seven feet high, and has yellow canes of a soft juicy texture. The *teliya* is shorter, harder, and thinner, and the canes are a deep red or even purple colour. The *Bangala* or *Bam*, a foreign variety, is larger and more juicy than the indigenous kinds, but yields a smaller proportion off

sugar. The *Molaha* is a hard and thin variety of the *mugi*, and, where grown, is planted round the edge of the field. The land is hoed up till it is reduced to a fine tilth, and the tops planted in trenches between April and June. The patch is fenced with split bamboo, and there is usually a stout hedge of arhar dal (*cajanus Indicus*), but constant watching is required to scare away jackals and other animals, and an empty oil tin with a clapper is generally to be seen suspended over each field. While the crop is growing it is continually hoed and weeded, and about August the leaves should be tied up round each cluster of canes, which is a troublesome proceeding. The earth from the ridges is heaped about the roots to strengthen their hold upon the soil, and this process is continued until the relative positions of ridge and trench are reversed, and the canes stand upon ridges with the trenches in between.

The Tezpur tahsil and the Behali mauza are the principal centres for sugarcane. Very little cane is grown in the Mangaldai subdivision outside the Patharughat and Mangaldai tahsils, and not much there. Harvesting goes on from January to April.

The native form of mill is still very generally used by the Assamese for the extraction of the juice, but the iron mill, which is far more expeditious, is gradually coming into favour. The native mill consists of two wooden rollers fixed side by side in a trough hollowed out of a heavy block of wood. The tops of the two rollers pass through a hollow beam supported by uprights let through the lower block of wood into the ground, and are

Preparation  
of molasses.

cut into the form of screws which fit into one another. To the larger of the two (*mota bhim* as distinguished from *maiki bhim*) is affixed a pole, which is driven round in a circle, and thus causes the rollers to revolve. The motive power is usually supplied by the villagers themselves, but buffaloes are occasionally used for the work. The mill requires rather more knowledge of carpentry for its production than the other implements of agriculture, and can only be made by the more skilful of the villagers. The cane is placed between the rollers and crushed as it is slowly forced through. Each handful is passed through the mill three or four times, till nothing but foam appears. The juice trickles from the trough into an earthen vessel, and is then transferred to a small boat scooped out of a log. When twelve or fifteen gallons have been collected boiling begins. The furnace is hollowed out of the ground, and has four circular openings to receive the cauldrons, which are made of the most durable kinds of potter's clay. Two of these vessels are placed about nine feet from the furnace mouth, and only serve to heat the juice before it is transferred into the other vessels to be boiled. When the juice has been reduced to the proper condition it is ladled into a wooden vessel (*gholani*) shaped like a small dug out, and is stirred for half an hour. As the stirring continues the liquid loses its dark brown colour, and assumes the consistency and hue of yellow mud. It is then stored in earthen pots and the process is complete.

**Causes affecting productiveness of land.**

The fertility of the rice fields mainly depends upon the following five causes—the water-supply, the quality

of the soil, and the liability to injury from flood, wild animals, or shade. The first named factor is probably of most importance, as irrigated land in the submontane tracts yields bumper crops from poor and sandy soil. The soil of the district varies from pure sand near the Brahmaputra to clay so stiff as to be utterly unfit for cultivation. The land best suited for the growth of rice is a clay loam *alatia*, the most fertile variety of which is called *bherbheria* and is particularly deep and soft. The animals which do most injury to the crop are pigs, elephants, and monkeys. Elephants leave disastrous traces of their presence, but luckily do not remain long in any one locality. Serious damage is sometimes done by insects which are called *keonkata* or *moja*, *tupalia*, *gandhi* (*leptorisca acuta*), and *charaha* (*hispa acuesceus*). The *gandhi* is a small bug, which injures the rice plant by feeding on the stems and sucking all the sap from the young grains. It is most prevalent in July and August ,and is particularly in evidence during a spell of hot dry weather. High wind and rain drive it back into the jungle, and good results are obtained by lighting fires of vegetable refuse to windward. The best remedy of all is to collect the insect by smearing a winnowing fan with some glutinous substance and brushing it over the ears of grain, when many of the bugs will be found adhering to the fan. This remedy should be tried in the morning or late afternoon, as the insects do not feed in the heat of the day. The *charaha* is a tiny beetle, which eats away the outer surface of the leaves and stalks, and thus affects the outturn of the crops. It attacks the

young plants in the nursery and can most easily be destroyed there by spraying.\* Smoking the fields also produces good results, but must be continued for some days or the beetles will return. Crabs (*kekora*) sometimes damage the stems of the crop on low-lying land when under water. Rain is wanted when *sali* rice is sown and is transplanted, but is not needed for the sowing of *ahu* and *bao*. During every stage of its growth the plant is benefited by moderate showers, but rain is absolutely essential at the time when the ears are first appearing. Hail storms in December sometimes lay the crop and add materially to the cost of reaping, but fortunately are very local in their action.

**Garden crops.  
The plantain.**

One of the most valuable of garden crops is the plantain (*musa sapientum*). As many as ten main varieties of this tree are recognized, but the most important are those known as *athia*, *monohar*, *cheni champa*, and *malbhog*. The first two groups are again subdivided into a considerable number of different species. The commonest form of *athia* is called *bhim*, a large tree which is found growing in the garden of nearly every house. The fruit is considered cool and wholesome, and is very generally used as food for infants. The *monohar* is a somewhat smaller tree, the pulp of the fruit is white and slightly acid in taste, and is largely used in combination with soft rice and milk at village feasts. The *malbhog* and *cheni champa* are small trees whose fruit is much appreciated by Europeans. The *athia* plantain is

\* The best solution is 1 lb. Paris green, 1 lb. freshly slackened lime or flour, and 150 gallons water. The solution should be kept constantly stirred and should be sprayed on with a fine sprayer.

generally grown near the homestead, where it can obtain a plentiful supply of manure, but the finer varieties are planted at a little distance to protect them from the earthworms, whose attacks they are hardly strong enough to resist. Sandy soil and heavy clay check the growth of the plant, and anything in the shape of water-logging is most injurious. The trees are planted in holes about a foot wide and eighteen inches deep, and are manured with cowdung, ashes, and sweepings. Young saplings take from eighteen months to two years to flower, and the flowers take from three to six months to turn to fruit. The plantain tree plays many parts in addition to that of fruit purveyor. The flower is much esteemed as a vegetable, the leaves serve as plates, and the trunks are used for decorative purposes on occasions of ceremony and as food for elephants. An alkaline solution distilled from the sheaths and the corm is often used as a flavouring with curry, a practice which is mentioned by the Muhammadan historians of Mir Jumla's invasion. These portions of the tree are sliced, dried, and reduced to ashes. The ashes are placed in an earthen pot in which there are several holes lightly plugged with straw. Water is then poured over them, which dissolves the alkali and trickles through the holes into the receiver below. The resulting product, which is known as *kharoni*, is used not only as a seasoning but as a hair wash and as a mordant with certain dyes.

The betelnut (*areca catechu*) is grown almost as universally as the plantain, and, with the bamboo, forms the great trinity of trees in which the houses of the

Other  
garden  
crops.

Assamese are usually embedded. The plantation is hoed up and kept clear of weeds, and the trees are most liberally manured with cowdung. The pan vine (*piper betle*) is frequently trained up their stems, and the leaf and nut, which are invariably eaten in conjunction, are thus grown side by side. Tobacco is a plant which is to be seen growing in the majority of gardens. The seedlings are raised in carefully manured beds in August and September. At the beginning of November they are transplanted into ground which has been reduced to a fine tilth, watered for a few days, and are protected from the sun by little sections of the plantain trunk. The bed is lightly hoed up two or three times, and not more than ten or twelve leaves are allowed to grow on each plant, the remainder being picked off as they appear. The leaves are first gathered in February and March, and there is a second but much inferior crop about two months later. If required for chewing they are either dried under a shed, or else pressed into a hollow bamboo (*chunga*) and allowed to ferment. When the tobacco is destined for the pipe, though this is not the use to which it is generally put, the leaves are piled up in heaps till they ferment, cut up and mixed with molasses, and then are ready for the hookah. The commonest forms of vegetable grown are ordinary spinach *pui* (*basella alba*), *lahi*, a species of *brassica*, different kinds of arums (*kachu*), different kinds of yams (*dioscorea*) and gourds, the country bean *urahi* (*dolichos lablab*), the common mallow *lafa* (*malva verticillata*), the radish *mula* (*raphanus sativus*),

the sorrel *chuka sak* (*rumex vesicarius*), and the brinjal (*solanum melongena*).

The outturn of different crops varies according to the character of the season, and also to a great extent according to the character and level of the soil on which they are grown. The statement in the margin shows the normal yield per acre laid down by the Agricultural Department after a long series of experiments. These figures only represent a general mean, and even in a normal year there are many fields whose outturn varies largely from the average. The yield of rice, it may be premised, is expressed in terms of husked grain. Like the outturn, the cash value of the crop can only be approximately ascertained. The prices obtained by the raiyats vary to some extent in different parts of the district, but probably average about Re. 1 11-0 per maund of unhusked grain in Tezpur and Re. 1-7-0 in Mangaldai. Assuming that unhusked paddy yields 62 per cent of clean rice, it would appear that the value of the harvest from an acre of *sali* is about Rs. 33 in Tezpur and Rs. 28 in Mangaldai, while the value of the *ahu* crop is Rs. 28 or Rs. 24, according as it is raised in the eastern or western subdivision. For mustard the villagers generally get about Rs. 3-4 a maund, so that the yield from one acre is worth about Rs. 19-8-0. The price of molasses varies considerably from time to time and from place to place, and ranges from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per maund. The value of the yield of an acre of cane ranges accordingly from about Rs. 110 to Rs. 220.

	lbs.
Sali ...	1,000
Ahu ...	850
Mustard ...	500
Molasses ...	1,800

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yield and  
value of  
crops.

**Floods and irrigation.**

A considerable portion of the district is flooded in the rainy season by the Brahmaputra and its tributaries. The pressure on the soil is, however, very light, and there is no necessity at present to bring these submerged tracts under permanent cultivation. The Bhareli ruined a considerable area of good rice land when it changed its course some years ago, and the Gabharu, Dhansiri, Rowta, and Nanai all occasionally do a certain amount of damage. No protective works have yet been erected, but there is not as yet sufficient demand for land to render reclamation necessary. The Kacharis in the submontane mauzas combine together to dig little channels (*dongs*) through which they bring the water of the rivers on to their rice fields.

**General Remarks.**

Beyond occasionally selecting the best ears of grain for seed the villagers do little to improve the quality of their crops, and show little tendency to adopt new staples. Manure is seldom used except for sugarcane and garden crops, and to some extent for tea. Experiments in agriculture on a scientific scale have, however, been made by several gentlemen in Tezpur. Mr. Moti Lal Holdar, the manager of the Mornai Tea Estate, was very successful in raising different varieties of cotton, sugarcane, and tobacco. Mr. Wilde, the manager of the Bamgaon Tea Estate, opened a farm at Gamiri in 1903, and in 1905 had about 350 acres under cultivation. The crops raised included paddy, jute, khesari and mung dal, mustard, ground nut, ginger, turmeric, barley, oats, wheat, potatoes, tobacco, coriander and anise. Agricultural implements of English manufac-

ture have been successfully and economically worked upon this farm, notably a threshing machine and large ploughs. Agricultural experiments have also been made by Babu Syama Charan Moitra, a local pleader, who in 1905 had about 50 acres under cultivation.

The buffaloes of the district belong to three distinct breeds, the Assamese, Nepalese, and Bengali.\* The Assamese are the largest of the three, and are fine upstanding animals with widely spreading horns. During the cold weather they are generally grazed in jungly tracts, and a wild bull often attaches himself to the herd, and becomes the sire of many of the calves. This continual infusion of a good strain of blood does much to maintain the excellence of the breed. The Bengali buffalo is a smaller and less imposing animal, and does not command so high a price. Nepalese buffaloes are also common. They are large animals but have smaller horns and longer tails than the Assamese variety. Assamese bulls cost from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40, and cows from Rs. 40 to Rs. 60, but a Bengali buffalo can be purchased for rather less.

Buffaloes rarely get anything but grass and a little salt to eat. In the cultivated portion of the district they are usually placed in charge of a small half naked boy, whose legs can hardly stretch across the massive back of the animal he bestrides and who guides it with a nose rope. In the *chaporis* the herd is driven out to graze in the jungle, and follows the lead of the older cows, whose whereabouts is indicated by the metal or

Live stock.  
Buffaloes.

\* The information given in these paragraphs is taken from a note compiled by Mr. Darrah, Director of Land Records and Agriculture in 1887, and from reports received from the local Revenue Officers of Darrang.

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wooden bells that are dangling from their necks. They are often trusted to return in the evening of their own accord, and a long line of animals is sometimes to be seen swimming across a channel of the Brahmaputra which separates them from the huts in which the graziers live. Often too, as the sun is setting, a herdsman is to be seen climbing a simul tree, which raises its head above the surrounding wastes of grass, to call his buffaloes home. At night each animal is fastened by a nose rope to a post and sleeps on the bare ground. There are a large number of *mokhutis*, as these grazing camps are called, in the flooded tracts along the Brahmaputra, and on the high land near the hills. A cow is said to remain in milk for about ten months, and yields at the beginning from two to four seers every day. The amount gradually decreases till a month or so before the next calf comes, when it ceases altogether. The milk is very white and rich in fatty materials, and consequently yields a large proportion of *ghi*. The cows are said to begin breeding when three years old, and to continue doing so for fifteen years, during which time they give birth on the average to about ten calves. The normal life of a buffalo is from 25 to 30 years. Age is judged by the incisor teeth.

**Cattle.**

Half-starved, under-sized, ill-bred, and not unfrequently diseased, the Assamese cattle are but sorry creatures. The bullocks find it a difficult task to drag even the light native plough, and the cows yield but a minimum of milk. The causes of this degeneracy are not entirely clear, but are probably to be found in a total

indifference to laws of breeding, in absolute neglect, and partly perhaps in the want of suitable fodder in the rains. No bulls are set aside to be the sires of the herd, and the cows are generally covered by a young and immature animal, who secures the object of his desires by his superior lightness and agility. The sire is often closely related to the dam, and she in her turn has had her strength exhausted by being covered when herself little more than a calf, and by subsequent breeding without the smallest intermission. The cattle are never groomed, and, when an epidemic breaks out, no attempt is made to isolate the sick. Everything, as Mr. Darrah says, is left to nature, from the moment when the most active, and therefore probably the youngest, bull of the herd has succeeded in covering a cow, until the progeny, after years of work and semi-starvation, dies neglected in some unfrequented jungle. Cows generally cost from Rs. 10 to Rs. 15, and bullocks from Rs. 15 to Rs. 30. The Bhutias bring down very fine cattle in the cold weather, but they are seldom purchased by the villagers in the neighbourhood, and it is said that they do not stand the heat well.

Live stock are generally grazed on the rice *pathars* Grazing grounds. after the crop has been carried, on high land, and in swamps and marshes till the water rises. During the rains, the villagers are said to experience some difficulty in obtaining fodder for their cattle in parts of the Mangaldai, Patharughat, and Tezpur tahsils, and rice straw is sometimes collected for the purpose.

**Goats and sheep and ponies.**

The goats are almost as degenerate as the cattle. They yield but little milk, the whole of which is taken by the kids, and are only kept for food or sacrifice. At night they are usually shut up in a small out-house with a raised floor, which is approached by a slanting board or sloping bamboo platform as a protection against jackals. There is no indigenous breed of sheep, and though sheep are brought down by the Bhutias in the cold weather, very few seem to remain on in the district. The country ponies are, if anything, even more miserable specimens than the cattle. Few of them are as much as twelve hands in height, and they possess neither pace, endurance or stamina. The Bhutia ponies are, however, hardy little animals, though they have neither pace nor manners. European residents are compelled to obtain all their horseflesh from Calcutta.

A census of livestock was taken in 1904, and disclosed the following results. Bulls and bullocks, 90,000 ; cows, 82,000 ; bull buffaloes, 19,000 ; cow buffaloes, 13,000 ; young stock, 93,000 ; sheep, 150 ; goats, 59,000 ; horses and ponies, 845.

**Cattle disease.**

The most common forms of cattle disease are foot and mouth disease (*chapka*), rinderpest (*guti*), a disease called *kachua*, the principal symptoms of which are flatulence and diarrhoea, cholera (*marki*), *matikhoa*, the first symptom of which is, as the name implies, the eating of earth followed by dysentery, and *sukuna* when the animal refuses to eat and dies after ten days or a fortnight.

**Commerce-  
ment of tea  
industry.** Reference must now be made to tea, a crop which has done so much for the development of Darrang.

The indigenous tea of Assam was first brought to the notice of Government in 1826 by Mr. C. A. Bruce, a gentleman who had been engaged in trade in the Province while it was still under native rule, and who had been sent up the Brahmaputra in command of a division of gun boats in 1824. In 1834, a committee was appointed by Government to enquire into the possibility of cultivating tea on a commercial scale, who deputed three of their numbers, Drs. Wallich, McClelland, and Griffiths, to visit Upper Assam. Nurseries were established, a small establishment was entertained under the general management of Mr. Bruce to search the jungles for plots of indigenous tea, and cultivate them when discovered, and plants and seed were brought to Assam from China. Tea makers and trained Chinese were imported in 1837, and in the following year some of the manufactured product was sent to England, where it met with a most favourable reception. Assam tea was regarded as a curiosity, and the first eight chests which were put up to auction fetched sums which at the present day seem little short of fabulous, the prices paid ranging from 16s. to £1-14-0 a pound. These were, however, only fancy prices, and a short time afterwards a merchant offered to purchase tea in considerable quantities at prices ranging from 1-10½d. to 2s. a pound.\*

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\* Information with regard to the early history of the tea industry has been derived from—

- (1) Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal No. xxxvii.  
Papers relating to Tea cultivation in Assam. Calcutta, 1861.
- (2) Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the state and prospects of Tea cultivation in Assam, Cachar and Sylhet. Calcutta, 1868.
- (3) Papers regarding the Tea Industry in Bengal. Calcutta, 1873.

**The boom  
in the early  
sixties.**

The pioneer of tea in Darrang was a Mr. Martin, who opened a plantation at Balipara in 1854, and three years later started a garden at Haleswar. In 1855, the Assam Company started operations at Singri Parbat, and these were the only plantations in existence when Captain Comber submitted his report in 1859. The next four years were a period of steady but not abnormal or unwholesome expansion. About 1863, the possibility of making large fortunes out of tea attracted the attention of the speculating classes, and tea planting passed through a severe crisis, which was entirely due to the action of company promoters, who endeavoured to make money, not by manufacturing tea, but by hastily opening gardens to sell at most exorbitant prices to the credulous investor. The promulgation of the fee simple rules of 1861 was followed by a rush for land, which was aggravated by the orders of the Board of Revenue, who authorized District Officers to sell estates on a pen and ink sketch made by the applicant, before they had been properly surveyed and demarcated. Land thus obtained was hastily cleared of jungle, a few plants, the majority of which soon died, were hurriedly put out, and the place was sold to the unsuspecting public as a flourishing tea garden. To such a pitch was this procedure carried that there is one case on record, in which a manager received instruction from London, to clear and plant a certain area of waste land for delivery to a Company to whom it had been already sold as a tea plantation.

**Scarcity of  
labour.**

Many of the planters, and some District Officers in Assam, thought that it was the duty of Government to

stimulate the slothful Assamese, and drive them to work on the plantations, by enhancing the land revenue assessment. This point of view did not commend itself to the Commissioner, Colonel Jenkins, who, while admitting that there was great want of industry and energy amongst the Assamese, declined to check their social improvement, or to reduce them to the unaccustomed misery of hard work, simply to provide the planters with cheap and abundant labour.\*

It naturally followed that in spite of the high prices offered, local labour was not obtainable in sufficient quantities, and coolies, generally of the most miserable description, were sent up from Calcutta. The mortality in the depôts and on the journeys was appalling. In the four years, 1864 to 1867, the annual mortality in the largest dépôt ranged from 36 to 115 per cent of the average daily strength, the latter enormous rate being calculated on a daily average of no less than 458 souls.† Between 1863 and 1868, 54,352 coolies were imported to Assam, 1,712 of whom died *en route*. Even when the garden was reached the mortality was generally high, and was sometimes quite appalling. In the Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the state and prospects of tea cultivation details are given for seven gardens in Upper Assam, on which the recorded mortality for half the year in 1865 ranged from 16 to 39 per cent.

\* Letter No. 111, dated 24th October 1859.

† Report of the Commissioners, p. 28.

The returns submitted were declared by the Commissioners to be unsatisfactory, but in 1866, 4,366 deaths were recorded in Upper Assam, which was equivalent to a death-rate of 17·9 per cent on the total number remaining plus the total number of deaths. These days of high mortality have happily now passed away, and in 1902-03 the mortality amongst adult coolies in Darrang was only 39 per mille. It may, perchance, be thought that even this is a high death rate for a population of adults, and in comparison with those recorded in England this is no doubt the case. But comparisons of this sort are most misleading, as though the death rate in Assam is very imperfectly recorded it is certain that it largely exceeds the rate for the more civilized countries of Western Europe. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that many of the coolies are recruited from the ranks of the physically unfit, that they suffer from the effects of a change of climate, and that when working in new clearances they are exposed to especially unfavourable conditions. The Commissioners\* in 1868 considered that the Bhutan field force furnished a fair analogy to garden coolies, and pointed out that the death rate amongst that force was 16 per cent, or very little less than the death rate even in those days on Assam tea gardens. The planters spare neither trouble nor expense in their efforts to preserve the health of their employees, and many of the weakly ones who die would probably have lived no longer had they been allowed to remain in their own homes.

\* Page 58 of their report.

During the tea boom, large sums were paid for labour <sup>collapse in 1866.</sup> and for seed, land which was little better than jungle was sold for preposterous prices, and the tea companies which were formed under these unfavourable conditions soon collapsed : 1866, 1867, and 1868 were years of great depression. Mr. A. C. Campbell, in a note written in 1873, describes how young men, who had been engaged in England, were turned adrift when the collapse came " in a most inhospitable country without a penny or a friend ; some died, others had literally to beg their way out of Assam, most had to regret impaired constitutions, and all the loss of some of the best years of their life. In 1869, affairs began to take a more favourable turn. It was seen that properly managed gardens could be worked at a satisfactory profit, and that the estates of the bubble companies which had been bought for small prices after the great crash were doing well in the hands of their new owners. Since 1870, there has been an enormous expansion of the industry, and while the area under cultivation and the outturn have alike increased, the cost of production and the price obtained have steadily diminished. Like other industries, tea has experienced periods of prosperity and depression, but there has been no such boom with its inevitable collapse as occurred in the early sixties.

The first tea garden was opened in Darrang in 1854, <sup>Expansion of the industry.</sup> but for some years the industry did not make very rapid progress. In 1870, the total outturn of manufactured tea was said to be 721,000 lbs., but little weight can be attached to these early estimates of outturn, as two years later it

was said to be nearly 1,500,000 lbs. In 1882, the total area under plant was 14,289 acres with a yield of 4,356,000 lbs. Six years later the acreage had risen to 20,000 and the reported yield had nearly doubled. The industry continued to make steady progress till 1896 when there were 31,867 acres under tea with a total outturn of 11,474,000 lbs. Tea was at that time booming, and many of the owners of the excellent private gardens round Tezpur took advantage of this opportunity to sell out to joint stock companies. The extra capital obtained was employed in the extension of the cultivated area, and within the short space of three years the area under plant increased by nearly 9,000 acres. In 1900, the outturn of manufactured tea was reported to be 15,311,000 lbs., and the area under plant 41,708 acres. Since that date the industry has been passing through a period of depression, which was chiefly due to the abnormally rapid expansion of the outturn, to the large increase in the duty imposed in England, and to the difficulty in obtaining labour. Statistics for later years will be found in Table VII.

**Labour supply.**

The Kacharis of Kamrup and Mangaldai are employed on the plantations in considerable numbers, but the bulk of the labour force is imported from other parts of India. During the ten years ending with 1890, 38,660 persons were brought up to the gardens and the total for the next decade was 79,924. 1896 (10,183), 1897 (12,464), and 1900 (11,358), were the years in which the largest numbers were imported. Statistics for later years will be found in the Appendix.

The abstract in the margin shows the areas from

	Number.	Percen-	ta-ge.
Total	... 79,513		
Assam	... 19,440	24	
Chota Nagpur	... 30,477	38	
Other parts of Bengal	10,928	13	
United Provinces	... 1,896	2	
Central Provinces	... 11,662	15	
Madras	... 2,827	4	

which the labour force in 1901 had been recruited. A considerable proportion of those born in Assam are the children of foreign coolies.

The journey from the recruiting districts is trouble-  
The  
labourers.  
some and expensive, the class of persons capable of working successfully in the damp climate of Assam is limited, and of recent years the supply of labour available has not been sufficient to satisfy the requirements of the planters. Special Acts have been passed to regulate the relations between the employers and their labour force. Careful provision is made for the welfare of the coolie. He is housed in neat and comfortable lines, he is provided with an excellent water-supply, generally drawn from masonry wells, and, when sick, he is cared for in a comfortable hospital by a native doctor working under the supervision of a European medical man. The provision of all these comforts and the importation of the labourers themselves cost large sums of money, which no one would be willing to expend without some guarantee that the coolies when imported would consent to remain on the plantation. This protection is afforded by the law (Act VI of 1901), which lays down that a labourer, provided that he is well treated, must not leave the garden to which he is indentured before the expiry of his contract, unless he chooses to redeem it by a money payment. The simpler Act (XIII of 1859), which empowers a Magistrate to

order a labourer who has taken an advance to complete the work on account of which the advance was given, is also very generally used.

**Site of tea gardens.**

Some of the best plantations are situated on what is known as the high bank, a ridge of reddish loam, which runs from Sessa about eight miles north of Tezpur to Balipara. Other good estates have been carved out of the dense forest which lies near the foot of the Aka Hills, a little to the north of Barjuli. East of the Bhamoreli there are a considerable number of gardens occupying the central belt of land between the Brahmaputra and the hills. Tea in Mangaldai falls into two main groups. The older gardens are situated in the neighbourhood of Kalaigaon, while of recent years a considerable number of plantations have been opened on the high land at the foot of the hills, to the west of Bengbari church.

Further information with regard to the area, size and population of each garden in the district will be found in Appendix A.

**Soil required for tea.**

A friable red loam is the soil that proves most suitable for tea. The plant requires a heavy rainfall, but anything in the shape of waterlogging is most prejudicial to its growth, and gardens should only be planted out on land which can be well drained. Land which in its natural state is covered with tree forest is usually considered the most suitable, as the absence of timber generally shows either that the place is liable to flood, or that the soil is sandy, or that the rainfall is deficient.

Four distinct varieties of wild tea are recognized. Varieties  
of plants. Assam indigenous, which has a leaf from 6 to  $7\frac{3}{4}$  inches in length by  $2\frac{3}{8}$  to  $2\frac{7}{8}$  inches in width, the Manipur or Burma indigenous with a larger, darker, and coarser leaf than the preceding variety, Lushai or Cachar indigenous, whose mature leaf is from 12 to 14 inches long, and from 6 to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide, and the Naga indigenous which has a long and narrow leaf. In addition to these four varieties there is the China plant, and different kinds of hybrids. The China tea is a squat and bushy shrub with small leaves, which gives a lower yield per acre than the other kinds. It is many years since China seed was planted out in new clearances, and considerable areas covered by this plant have been abandoned. In its natural state the indigenous plant attains to the dimensions of a tree, varying from 20 to 50 feet in height, though its girth seldom exceeds two feet. It has a vigorous growth and yields a large outturn of fine flavoured tea, but is delicate when young. Of the hybrid variety there are many qualities ranging from nearly pure indigenous to nearly pure China. A plant with a very small admixture of China is usually preferred, as this imparts the hardiness, the want of which is the one defect in the indigenous variety. During the boom in the nineties the price of good tea seed rose to as much as Rs. 150 per maund, but this was followed by a slump, when but a third of that sum became obtainable. Seed from the Ghoirali, Barjuli, and Nanugaon estates is much esteemed.

**System of cultivation.** The seed is planted in nursery beds in December and January and kept under shade till the young plants are three or four inches above the ground. Transplanting goes on between April and July, whenever there is rain, the plants being usually placed from four to five feet apart. During the first two years of their life little more is required than to keep the plantation clear of weeds. By this time the plants are from two to four feet high, and at the end of the rains they are pruned down to fifteen inches or a foot to encourage lateral growth. In the third year the plant can be lightly plucked over, but the yield of leaf is small. Pruning is continued every year. Only about two inches are left of the wood formed since the previous pruning, and any unhealthy or stunted branches are removed. As an extreme remedy old plants, in which there is a large proportion of gnarled and twisted wood, are sawn off level with the ground, and fresh shoots are allowed to spring from the root itself. During the rains the garden is hoed over several times, in order to render the soil permeable both to rain water and the roots of the bush. At the end of the rains, the ground is hoed up to the depth of eight or nine inches. The object of this is to protect the land from drought, as the hoed up soil prevents the evaporation of water from the lower strata. It also adds to the fertility of the land by exposing it to air, light, and changes in temperature. Manure has hitherto been little used. Oil cake and cowdung are sometimes spread about the plants, and exhausted land is sometimes top-dressed with rich soil from a neigh-

bouring marsh. The cost of these operations is considerable and they are not invariably successful from the pecuniary point of view. Matikalai (*phaseolus mungo radiatus*) is often sown amongst the bushes and hoed in as a green manure.

Plucking begins in April, and is continued till the beginning of December. The bud and the two top leaves are taken from each shoot, but fresh leaves soon appear, and in about five weeks' time the shoot is ready to be plucked again. This throwing out of new leaves is termed a "flush," and there are usually eight to ten full "flushes" in a season, though each bush is picked over every ten days or so, as the twigs develop at different times. The plucking is usually done by women and children, while the men are engaged in hoeing up the ground around the plants. The plant is liable to be attacked by a large number of pests, the best known being the tea mosquito or blight, the green fly, and the red spider. A full account of these pests will be found in "The pests and blights of the tea plant," by Watt and Mann, Calcutta, 1903.

When the leaf has been taken to the factory it is spread out in thin layers on trays and allowed to wither. In fine weather the process takes about 18 hours, but if it is cold and wet as many as 48 hours may elapse before the leaf is ready. When the leaf has been properly withered it is placed in the rolling machines. The object of rolling is to break up the cellular matter and liberate the juices, and to give a twist to the leaf. Rolling takes about one hour, and after this the leaf is

System of  
manufac-  
ture.

placed in a cool room for about three hours to ferment. It is then placed on trays in the firing machines through which hot air is driven, until the last trace of moisture has been expelled, and the tea is crisp to the touch. The leaf is then passed through sieves of varying degrees of fineness, and the tea sorted into different grades. The best and most expensive quality is called Broken Orange Pekoe, and is made from the bud or tip, which contains all the good qualities of tea in a more concentrated form than any of the other leaves, is stronger, and has a more delicate flavour. The other grades, which are differentiated by the size of the mesh through which they pass are Orange Pekoe, Broken Pekoe, Pekoe, Souchong, and Fannings.

After the tea has been sorted, it is fired once more to remove any moisture it may have absorbed from the surrounding atmosphere, and is packed in lead lined boxes while it is still warm. Tea loses largely in weight during the process of manufacture, and about four pounds of green leaf are required to produce one pound of the finished article.

**Outturn  
and prices.**

The character of the outturn depends largely upon the season, but still more upon the garden and the system of manufacture followed. In 1868, the Commissioners estimated that the average outturn was about 240 lbs. per acre, but this estimate was probably too low, as the average yield in Darrang during the five years ending with 1903 was over 400 lbs. per acre. The introduction of machinery, and the improvement of the systems

of cultivation and management have rendered it possible to effect a large reduction in the cost of the tea when placed upon the market. In 1868, it was calculated that tea must be sold at 2s. a lb. to yield a profit. Twenty years later the average price obtained by tea from the Brahmaputra Valley was 8 annas 2 pies; and, though in 1894 it rose to 10 annas 5 pies, in 1898 it dropped to 6 annas 9 pies, and has since remained below that figure.

The forests of Darrang fall into two main classes, the ~~forests~~ reserved forests, which in 1902-03 covered an area of 321 square miles, and the unclassed State forests, which, in the same year, occupied the enormous area of 2,127 square miles. Unclassed State forest is, however, simply Government waste land, and does not necessarily possess any of the characteristics which are usually associated with the expression forest. It may be a sandy *chur* or a huge expanse of low-lying land covered with high grass and reeds, and almost totally destitute of trees. It may be a small piece of arable land, which has been resigned by its former holder and has not yet been settled with any other person, or it may be, what its name would naturally suggest, *i.e.*, actual tree forest. It is impossible to give even the roughest estimate of the proportion of unclassed State forest which is actually under timber, but where the total area is so enormous it is obvious that, in a country with a heavy rainfall like Assam, the area covered with trees must be considerable.

The general control of the Government forests is en- System of management.  
trusted to a Deputy or Assistant Conservator. The un-  
classed State forests are, however, under the immediate

management of the local revenue officials, and the villagers are allowed to remove all the forest produce needed for their own requirements free of royalty.

**The re-  
served  
forests.**

There are altogether seven reserved forests in Darrang, but three of them are only a few acres in extent. The Charduar, Balipara, and Nowduar reserves are a compact mass of evergreen forest, which covers an area of 291 square miles at the foot of the hills on either side of the Bhareli river. The Khalingduar forest is situated in the north of the Mangaldai subdivision, and is 27 square miles in area. From Table VIII it will be seen that the revenue derived from these reserves is very small, except in the case of the Charduar forest, where the receipts are swollen by the inclusion of the gross receipts from the rubber plantation. The greater part of the reserves are evergreen forest which does not require to be protected from fire. Special measures are, however, taken for the protection of the khair forest in the Khalingduar, and the patches of sal near Tezpur, and from Table IX it will be seen that the efforts of the Department are generally crowned with success. The statement appended to this chapter gives further details with regard to each of the principal reserves.

**Timber  
trees.**

The most valuable timber trees in the district are *Sam* (*artocarpus chaplasha*), *Gunserai* (*cinnamomum glanduliferum*), *Titasapa* (*michelia champaca*), *Makai* (*shorea assamica*), *Hollock* (*terminalia bicolorata*), *Simul* (*bombax malabaricum*), *Poma* (*cedrela toona*), *Khakan* (*duabanga sonneratiooides*), *Bola* (*morus laevigata*), *Sal* (*shorea robusta*), *Nahor* (*mesua ferrea*), *Khair* (*acacia catechu*), *Ajhar*

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(*lagerstroemia regiae*), *Kathal* (*artocarpus integrifolia*), *Sonalu* (*cassia fistula*), *Gomari* (*gmelina arborea*) and *Uriam* (*bischoffia javanica*). They are used for posts, planks, scantlings, and sleepers, but the timber trade of Darrang is at present unimportant. There is one saw mill at Tezpur which converts simul into tea boxes, but hitherto very little timber has been exported from the district.

The bulk of the forest revenue is derived from the duty **Rubber.** on imported rubber, or from the price obtained for the rubber tapped in the Government plantation at Charduar. The right to tap rubber in the unclassed State forests in the district is put up to auction, and, till a few years ago, was frequently knocked down for a considerable sum, as, by custom, the purchaser was granted an exclusive monopoly of sending rubber tappers across the Inner Line into the Aka and the Dafla Hills. Experience showed that this system was liable to give rise to friction, and the issue of passes has been discontinued, the hill-men being left to tap their rubber and bring it down themselves. The Charduar rubber plantation was started in 1873, and in 1903 had cost altogether over Rs.2,17,000. Tapping was first begun on a considerable scale in 1899, and the receipts under this head in 1903 amounted to Rs.13,700. The area under rubber in that year was 2,862 acres. The tree can either be raised from seed or suckers. From June to September is the best time to sow the seed. When the seedlings are about two inches high they are transferred from the seed boxes to the nurseries. Here they are kept till the following rains, when they are moved again to well stockaded nurseries, where they are

allowed to remain for two or three years till the plant is ten feet high. They are then put out in the forest on mounds about four feet high. The young rubber tree is readily devoured by every kind of game, and so cannot be planted out till it has attained a considerable growth. When suckers are taken a strip of bark about two inches wide is removed from a healthy branch, and the place plastered thickly over with clay, which has to be kept moist. By the end of two months roots will have been thrown out into the clay, and the branch can then be cut off and planted.



*Reserved Forests more than ten square miles in area.*

Name.	Situation and character of soil.	Date when Acres. in sq.	Date constituted reserve.	Name of valuable timber trees.	Route of extrac- tion.
Balipara ...	Mauza Balipara. One-half plain and one-fourth hilly containing mixed forest; one-fourth swampy covered with evergreen forest.	88	1878	Sal, nahor, ajhar, sam, gunserai, bola, matai, khakan.	Bhareli and Mansiri rivers, Tezpur-Balipara Railway.
Charduar ...	Mauzas Balipara and Bargong, swampy, plain.	121	1878	Nahor, ajhar, sam, gunserai, bolla, makai, pom, gomari.	Betsiri, Mansiri, Gabbaru and Dipota rivers, Tezpur-Balipara Railway.
Nowduar ...	Mauza Bokola. One-half plain covered with mixed; one-half swampy covered with evergreen forest.	82	1878	Khakan, sam, poma, gunserai, makai, gomari, uriam, khair, sonaru.	Bhareli and Dikrai rivers.
Khaingduar ...	One-fourth grass land with a few khair trees, one-sixth hilly with mixed forest, one-eighth swampy, the remainder evergreen forest.	27	1878	Makai, khair, gunserai, titasapa, sida, poma, paroli and karai.	

## CHAPTER V.

### INDUSTRIES.

Arts and industries—Silk weaving—Pottery—Brass and bellmetal—  
Lac—Mat-making—Fishing.

**Tea the  
only im-  
portant  
industry in  
Darrang.** Apart from tea the industries of Darrang are unimportant. Much of the clothing worn by the indigenous inhabitants is still woven by the women of the family, and a certain amount of lac, and of silk, especially of *eri* silk, is produced. A few foreigners express mustard oil with the bullock mill of Upper India, and there are a few blacksmiths, makers of earthenware, and metal utensils. Near Tezpur there is a sawmill under European management. In the following paragraphs is given a short account of such industries as exist

**Put silk.** Three different kinds of silk are produced in the district. The most valuable kind is known as *put*, and is obtained from the cocoon of two species of worms, the univoltine or *bar polu* (*bombyx textor*) and the multivoltine or *sarnu polu* (*bombyx croesi*). Both kinds are reared indoors on the leaves of the mulberry tree (*morus indica*) or where mulberry is not obtainable, on the *panchapa*. The silk can be most easily obtained either at Beheria and Bihuguri in Tezpur, or at Sipajhar and other places in the Patharughat tahsil in Mangaldai. The eggs of the *bar polu* take ten months to hatch, the worms usually making their appearance about the beginning of January.

The life of the worm lasts from thirty to forty days, and the cocoon takes about six days to spin. The cocoons are of a bright yellow colour, but the silk, when boiled in potash water, become perfectly white. From twelve to fifteen thousand cocoons are required to yield one pound of thread, which is worth from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12. The thread obtained from the *saru polu* is not so valuable as that of the *bombyx textor*, but as the worm yields four broods in the year it finds greater favour with the cultivators. *Pat* silk is, however, only made to order and the total quantity produced is very small.

Several causes combine to make this silk rare and expensive. The Jugis are the only caste who will consent to rear the worm, and, as the insect is looked upon as impure, the industry is probably regarded with disfavour even by the Jugis. The supply of mulberry leaf is limited, and the worms are very delicate, a large number of them dying before they spin.

The *muga* worm (*antheraea assamoea*) is generally ~~muga~~ fed on the *sum* tree (*machilus odoratissima*). Five different broods are distinguished by vernacular names, but in the Darrang district the only broods commonly reared are the *katia* in October—November, the *jarua* in December—February, and the *jethua* in the spring. The complete cycle of the insect lasts from 54 to 81 days, the bulk of which is occupied by the life of the worm. When the moths hatch out the females are at once attached to straws which are hung up inside the house, and are visited by the males who are allowed to remain at liberty. Each female produces about 250 eggs which are placed

in a dark place, and when the worms appear they are at once transferred to the *sum* tree. A band of straw or plantain leaves is fastened round the trunk to prevent them from descending, and during the night they take shelter under the leaves. Constant vigilance is, however, required to keep off crows, kites, owls, large bats and other pests which prey upon the worm, and hail and heavy rain not unfrequently do damage. When fully grown the worm is about 5 inches long and nearly as thick as the forefinger. In colour it is green with a brown and yellow stripe extending down each side, while red moles with bright gold bases are dotted about the surface of the body. When the worms are ready to spin they descend the tree and are then removed to the house. Most Assamese women possess one or more garments of *muga* silk, and well-to-do men wear waistcloths of this material on occasions of ceremony. *Muga* silk is chiefly manufactured for home use and very little is produced for sale. The silk is reeled from the cocoon, 250 of them yielding one oz. of thread. The price obtained is from 4 to 6 annas per oz.

**Silk.**

The *eri* worm (*attacus ricini*) derives its name from the *eri* or castor oil plant (*ricinus communis*) on which it is usually fed. Patches of this plant are to be seen in the gardens of most villagers and the worm is proportionately common. From five to six broods are usually reared in the year, those which spin their cocoons in November, February, and May yielding most silk. As with the *muga* moth, the females, when they emerge, are tied to pieces of reed, and are visited by the males who

are left at liberty. The eggs are hatched in the house and take from a week to 15 days to mature. As soon as the worms appear they are placed on a tray, which is suspended in a place of safety, and fed on the leaves of the castor oil plant. When fully grown they are about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches long and of a dirty white or green colour. After the final moulting, the worms are transferred from the tray to forked twigs suspended across a piece of reed, and, when they are ready to spin, are placed on a bundle of dried plantain leaves or withered branches which is hung from the roof of the hut. The matrix of the cocoon is very gummy, and the silk, which is of a dirty white colour, has to be spun not reeled off. Before this is done the cocoons are softened by boiling them in water and a solution of alkali. Empty cocoons yield about three quarters of their weight in thread.

*Eri* cloth is produced in every part of the district, but the great centre of the industry is the Kachari country in the north of Mangaldai. Kalaigaon is a market at which considerable quantities of this useful commodity are on sale.

The most useful garment made of *eri* silk is the *bar kapor*, a large sheet sometimes as much as 20 feet in length by 5 feet wide, which is folded and used as a wrap in the cold weather. It costs from Rs. 10 to Rs. 16. *Eri* cloth is also made into coats and petticoats. Women's clothes, both petticoats and the shawls worn over the bust, are, however, usually made of *muga* silk, the thread required for a complete dress costing from Rs. 5 to

Cost of silk clothes.

Rs. 7. The instruments used for twisting and weaving silk are the same as those employed for cotton, but for *eri* thread a stronger reed is employed.

**Weaving.**

The weaving of cotton cloths is carried on by rich and poor alike, and one or more looms are to be seen in the courtyard of almost every house. Though cotton is grown in the hills of the Province, and though many different dyes are to be found growing in its forests, imported yarn, which is supplied in the requisite shades by the village shop-keeper, is usually employed. The loom consists of four stout posts which are driven into the ground so as to make a rectangle about 5'10" x 2'6", and are joined together at the top by cross beams. The implements required for the conversion of raw cotton into cloth, and the system of manufacture followed are described in the minutest detail in a "Monograph on the Cotton Fabrics of Assam," published by the Superintendent of Government Printing at Calcutta in 1897. Descriptions of mechanical processes of this nature are, however, at their best unsatisfactory, and are hardly intelligible without a series of diagrams. The total cost of the whole apparatus is from ten to fifteen rupees, and as weaving only occupies the leisure moments of the women, the use of home-made clothing helps to save the pocket of the villager. Very little cotton cloth is prepared for sale, and there can be little doubt that weaving as an industry is commercially a failure, the price obtained for the finished article being out of all proportion to the time expended on its production. The principal articles made are *ganchas* or napkins, often worn on the head,

family covering the ground. The general effect is extremely picturesque, but the presence of all these plants and trees makes the homestead very damp and excludes all sun and air. At the back there is generally a garden in which vegetables, tobacco, and other plants are grown. The houses are small, dark, and ill-ventilated and must be very hot in summer. They are built on low mud plinths, and are thus extremely damp. The walls are made of reeds plastered over with mud, or of split bamboo, the roof of thatch, the rafters and posts of bamboo. All of these materials can, as a rule, be obtained free of charge, and a house costs the owner nothing but the trouble of erecting it, but in spite of this they are small and badly built. The houses of the middle class are built on practically the same plan, but they are larger, and wooden posts and beams are often used in place of bamboo. The furniture of the cultivating classes is very simple, and consists of a few boxes, wickerwork stools and baskets, brass and bell-metal utensils, and bottles and earthen pots and pans. His bedding is a quilt made out of old cloths, and he either sleeps on a mat on the damp floor or on a small bamboo *machan* or platform. The well-to-do have beds, tables, and chairs in their houses, but these articles of luxury are seldom found outside the town.

There are no rich men amongst the Assamese in Dar-  
rang, and very few who are even moderately well-to-do,  
but the explanation of this fact is not far to seek. The  
Assamese is a cultivator and nothing more, and with  
wholesale trade, crafts, and industries, he has little or

Economic  
condition of  
the people.

no concern. There are few capitalists who have the means to enable them to farm upon a large scale, and even were the money forthcoming, it would be very difficult to obtain the necessary labour. Outside the tea gardens the immense mass of the people are small peasant proprietors, who drive the plough themselves, and carry home the rice that has been cut by their wives and daughters. Such a community can never become rich, but it is well removed above the line of poverty, and it is seldom that any villager in Darrang goes hungry to his bed.

Most of the revenue officers consulted are of opinion that a considerable proportion of the villagers are in debt, but it is difficult to believe that indebtedness can have assumed serious proportions, though a certain amount of petty borrowing no doubt goes on. The rates of interest charged vary from two pice to one anna in the rupee per mensem for small loans for short periods, but loans for larger sums can be obtained at lower rates. The tea industry puts an immense amount of money into circulation, and no less than Rs. 26,44,000 were paid away in wages in 1903-04. Much of this finds its way no doubt into the pockets of the kaiya, but, even assuming that each adult cooly only spends Rs. 2 per mensem on rice, poultry, and vegetables purchased from the villagers, this would amount to over Rs. 11,50,000 in the year,\* or more than the total revenue raised in the district from land revenue, cesses, and all heads of excise. The raiyats are said to obtain the cash required to pay their revenue

\* There were 48,487 adult coolies in Darrang on June 30th, 1903.

and buy their little luxuries, by the sale of rice, vegetables, and poultry, for which they have a market at their very doors.

The mustard crop which is generally grown for sale is usually worth nearly three lakhs of rupees to the raiyats.\* The Kacharis seldom grow much rice for sale, as they consume enormous quantities in beer, and many of them earn the cash they need by the sale of *eri* cloths, or by hollowing out canoes, or by working on the tea gardens. Tea garden work, though well paid, is irksome, and, as it entails an absence from home for several months, is not very generally resorted to.† In 1901, little more than one-tenth of the Kacharis of Darrang were censused on the plantations, and only a few hundreds had gone to districts further up the valley.

The people of Darrang do not seem to be hampered by many conventional restrictions. All castes, except the Brahman, rear the *eri* silk worm, but the cultivation of *pat* is restricted to the Katanis. All castes again catch fish, but only the Nadiyals, Kacharis, Rabhas, and Muhammadans will sell it. Very few people plough on the *ekadasi* (eleventh day of the waxing or waning moon), *purnima* (the full moon), *amabasya* (new moon), and the *sankranti* (last day of the month). The Assamese abstain from work during the *bihus*, and on the occasion of the *sradh* ceremonies of Sankar Deb and Madhab Deb. Pulse (*mah*) is not sown on days beginning with an m, or mustard (*shoriya*) on days beginning with an sh. The

Conven-  
tional res-  
trictions.

\* Assuming that they get Rs. 3·4 per maund.

† Kacharis will not generally take service on tea gardens unless they are given the opportunity of earning "doubles."

following quaint prejudices against certain days, reported from the Kalaigaon tahsil, are found to a greater or less degree in most parts of the district. Monday—loans not given, *sali* dhan not sold ; Tuesday—*ahu* and *sali* dhan not sold, shaving, and cutting of bamboos prohibited ; Thursday—loans not given, shaving prohibited ; Saturday—*ahu* dhan not sold, shaving, and cutting of bamboos prohibited. In some parts of the district certain days are considered particularly inauspicious for the payment of the land revenue. In Chutia, for instance, the raiyats avoid Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays ; in Barchola, Mondays, Tuesdays, and Saturdays ; and in Behali, Mondays and Saturdays.

**Communications.  
Early difficulties.**

At the time when the British came into possession of Assam, the difficulty of communications proved a most serious obstacle to the development of the Province. The Brahmaputra was the great highway which connected this portion of the Company's dominions with Bengal, but the journey up the river for any boat of ordinary size was a very lengthy business.

McCosh, writing in 1837, stated that a large boat took from six to seven weeks to come from Calcutta to Gauhati, though the post which was conveyed in small canoes rowed by two men, who were relieved every fifteen or twenty miles, reached Gauhati in ten days and Bishnath in three days more.\*

Few people presumably had sufficient time or patience to undertake the voyage at that season of the

\* McCosh's Topography of Assam, p. 82. Butler, in his Sketch of Assam, puts the journey from Calcutta to Saikhoa in a badgerow *via* Dacca at over nine weeks even in the cold weather.

year. Week after week the weary traveller must have pursued his tedious way, his view bounded as a rule by high banks of treacherous sand, which then as now were continually being undermined by the current and falling with a crash into the water. It was only occasionally that he could relieve the monotony of the voyage by a stroll on shore, as through the greater part of its course down the valley the banks of the river are covered with high reeds and grass, which are quite impenetrable to a man on foot, and the tedium of this dreary voyage must have been immense. Canoes, of course, could travel faster against the current, but a canoe is not a vessel in which the ordinary man can journey for many days in comfort.

This was the state of things for twenty-two years after our annexation of the valley, but in 1848 the Government steamers were deputed to ply between Calcutta and Gauhati. Three years later, the Commissioner, Major Jenkins, made the not unreasonable proposal that three or four times a year they should be allowed to proceed right up the valley to Dibrugarh. His suggestions were negatived by the Marine Department on the ground that the voyages would be financially a failure, but his views were strongly urged on Government by Mr. Mills when he visited the Province in 1853. The proposal met with the approval of the Lieutenant-Governor, instructions were issued for the despatch of a steamer in that year, and several voyages were made with results that were not unsatisfactory even from the financial point of view. The journey from Gauhati to

*Beginning  
of steam  
navigation.*

Dibrugarh and back occupied no more than fifteen days, an extraordinary contrast to the interminable delay of the same voyage in a country boat. The cargo tendered soon exceeded the carrying capacity of the steamers, and in 1855 Lieutenant-Colonel Jenkins complained that the vessels reached Gauhati fully laden with goods shipped in Upper Assam, so that Gauhati and the ports below derived practically no advantage from the downward service of the steamers.

As was only to be expected the rates at first charged were fairly high, and a ticket from Calcutta to Gauhati cost no less than Rs. 150. On the other hand the accommodation was designed on an extremely liberal scale. The regulations issued in 1851 expressly authorized passengers to carry pianos in their cabins free of freight, provided that they were required for use during the voyage and were not in packing cases, a proviso which suggests a very deliberate voyage as compared with the speedier travelling of the twentieth century. Freight on ordinary stores seems to have been charged at the rate of one rupee per cubic foot between Calcutta and Gauhati, but for some time longer a great part of the trade of the Province continued to go by country boat. The planters could never count on being able to despatch their tea by steamer, and were thus compelled to keep up an establishment of country boats, and having got the boats to use them, and the same objection held good in the case of native merchants.\* The cost of working the line was heavy, but in

\* Memorandum by the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, dated the 7th February 1857.

spite of this it showed a fair profit, and it was evident that there would be a great development of the traffic if only facilities were provided for it.

In 1860, the India General Steam Navigation Company entered into a contract to run a pair of vessels every six weeks provided that the Government boats were taken from the line, and, since that date, the steam navigation of the Assam Valley has been in the hands of this Company, and the River Steam Navigation Company with whom they are associated. But, in spite of the existence of a regular service, and the quickening effects of private enterprise, travelling still continued to be very slow. The steamers did not profess to run to scheduled time, the delay at the larger ports for the loading and unloading of cargo was considerable, and the passenger no doubt often required his piano to beguile the tedium of the way. In 1861, the Commissioner, Colonel Hopkinson, was disposed to take a gloomy view of the condition of affairs, and in a letter to Government openly gave expression to the opinion that it would be better to compensate the planters for any loss they might sustain, and abandon the Province, unless Government were prepared to enter upon a course of vigorous material improvement. In the same letter he drew the following dreary picture of the isolation of Assam :—

"With the furious current of the Brahmaputra, still unconquered by steam, opposing a barrier to all access from without, and not a single road fit for wheeled carriage, or even passable at all for a great portion of the year, there is such an absence of the full tide of life running through Assam, such a want of intercourse between man and man, as does and must result in apathy, stagnation, and torpidity and a terrible sense of isolation,

*Private  
steamers put  
on the river.*

by which enterprise is chilled and capital and adventurers scared away. The profits of tea cultivation should attract hundreds where tens now come, but the capitalist is not always to be found who will venture his money in a country to which access is so difficult as it is to Assam, through which his correspondence travels at the rate of a mile and a half an hour, and in which it may take a month to accomplish a journey of two or three hundred miles ; nor, on the other hand, is it every spirit, however bold, that cares to encounter so dreary a banishment, and to be so entirely cut off from his fellows in a place from which exit is only possible at rare intervals, and must be so literally a prison or tomb to him."

Matters, however, gradually improved, and in 1884 a daily service of mail steamers was started between Dibrugarh and Dhubri, connecting with a steamer which plied between the latter place and Jatrapur. Here the traveller who was pressed for time could take the train to Calcutta, though the line was not of the most comfortable, as more than one river had to be crossed in boats before the capital of Bengal was reached.

The introduction of a daily steamer service represented an enormous advance in the facilities for communication between Assam and the outer world. The large steamers were not uncomfortable, but progress was slow, and not only the hour but the date on which they left any given port was far from certain. The would-be traveller could not choose his own time for starting on his journey, but had to select a date on which a steamer was expected at the nearest ghat, and even then he not unfrequently had to endure a weary period of waiting by the river bank. The daily service changed all that, and combined the advantages of regularity with a speed, which, in comparison with that attained by the large cargo boats, was most

commendable. During the rains Dibrugarh was reached on the fifth day after leaving Dhubri, while the downward journey was performed in three days. The navigation of the river is not entirely free from difficulty, the companies were not incited to further efforts by competition, and some years elapsed before any attempt was made to reduce the duration of the voyage. On the completion of the Assam-Bengal Railway the companies realized that it was necessary to accelerate their timing if they were to retain their traffic, and steamers now reach Dibrugarh on the fourth day from Dhubri, while the voyage from Dibrugarh to Goalundo only occupies three days.

The ports at which the steamers call in Darrang are Rangamati for Mangaldai, Singri, Tezpur, Bishnath, Behalimukh and Gamirighat.

The only railway, in the district is a small line on the ~~Railway~~ 2' 6" inch gauge which was constructed in 1896 by a private company. It runs from Tezpur, past Dekargaon, Bindukuri, Sessa, Thakurbari and Rangapara to Bali-para, 20 miles away. From Rangapara there is a branch line to Barjuli. It was primarily constructed to afford an outlet to the tea manufactured on the prosperous estates through which it passes, and cost altogether Rs. 4,87,000. It is a well-managed little line, and in 1903 paid a dividend of 5 per cent.

The north trunk road enters the district at the point ~~Roads~~, where it crosses the Barnadi, and runs right through it, a distance of 151 miles. The following is the list of marching stages; the figure in brackets shows the dis-

tance which each stage is from the next stage to the west : Mangaldai (16 miles), Dalgaon (14 miles), Orang ( $14\frac{1}{2}$  miles), Dekhiajuli ( $8\frac{3}{4}$  miles), Gabharu (10 miles), Dipota ( $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles), Tezpur ( $6\frac{1}{4}$  miles), Jamaguri (12 miles), Chutia ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles), Burigaon ( $9\frac{1}{4}$  miles), Behali ( $10\frac{1}{2}$  miles), Helem ( $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles), Gohpur ( $9\frac{1}{4}$  miles), Kalabari ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles). At each of these stages there is an inspection bungalow furnished with chairs, tables, and bedsteads. Bed clothes and mattresses, kitchen utensils and crockery must be provided by the traveller.

There are altogether 420 miles of road kept up by the Local Boards of the district. These roads are shown on the map appended to this volume, but the system is too complicated to admit of its being properly described in detail. The most important roads are the road that runs due north from Tezpur to Balipara, the road east of the Bhareli that runs parallel to but north of the trunk road as far as Behali, and the roads that run from the Brahmaputra to the north of Mangaldai. In Tezpur there are inspection bungalows at Goroimari and Balipara, on the 5th and 14th mile of the Tezpur-Balipara road. In Mangaldai there are bungalows at Kalaigaon, Nalbari, Odalguri, Bengbari, Shekhar, Silaikuchi, Patharughat, and Chinakona. Most of the minor streams are spanned by timber bridges, but the traveller in Darrang is still often delayed by ferries. Even on the trunk road the following rivers are unbridged: the Barnadi, the Dhansiri, the Rowta, the Pachnai, the Gabharu, the Bhareli, the Bargang, and the Burai. In the dry weather the only rivers which are not fordable are the Barnadi, the Dhan-

siri, and the Bhareli, but in the rains all of them have to be crossed on ferry mars. These mars are formed by fastening two canoes, or two iron cylinders together, and building a timber platform on the top. These floating platforms are very steady and any animal, short of an elephant, can be crossed on them. Generally speaking, the district is well supplied with the means of communication. The Brahmaputra is the great highway of commerce, and all that is required is a sufficient number of branch roads to connect it with the interior. East of Tezpur the trunk road, running as it does parallel to the river, carries little traffic. None of the roads are metalled, and they are, in consequence, much cut up if largely used for carting in the rains. In proportion to its population there is no district in the Province where carts are as numerous as in Darrang. In 1899, there were 3,500 of them, or four times the number found in the neighbouring district of Kamrup. Buffaloes are largely used as draught animals, especially in Mangaldai

Apart from the Brahmaputra, the rivers of the district Navigation  
rivers. are not much used for purposes of commerce. In the cold weather there is often little water in the channel; in the rains the current is generally too swift. They have, moreover, an uncomfortable way of changing their courses and overflowing their banks, a habit which tends to prevent the growth of villages in the immediate neighbourhood. In the rains a certain amount of traffic goes up the Dipota to Bindukuri, and up the Ghiladari and Marnai; in the cold weather these rivers are not navigable for boats of four tons burthen. A vessel of that size can proceed up

the Bhareli as far as Balipara in the cold weather, and up to Namiri in the rains, but, as this river flows most of its course through jungle, it carries little traffic. The Nanai and the Barnadi in Mangaldai are used to some extent as trade routes, and in the rains a large boat can proceed up the latter river, as far as Malmuraghat, though in the cold weather it cannot generally get above Sonarikhhat.

**Post and Telegraph.**

The following statement shows what an enormous development there has been of postal business in Darrang since 1876 :—

Number of post offices in		Number of letters and post cards omitting thousands delivered in			Number of Savings Bank account in		Balance at the credit of the depositors	
1875-76	1903-04	1861-62.	1870-71.	190-304.	1871-72.	1903-04.	1871-72.	1903-04
2	22	1	33	428	29	1,345	Rs. 2,900	Rs. 2,81,323

There were 22 post offices in 1904 against 2 in 1876, while the number of letters and postcards delivered in the former year is thirteen times the number handled in 1871. The savings bank has also made most satisfactory progress, and considering the low rate of interest given, and the scarcity of capital in the district, the volume of deposits is considerable. The figures for 1872 were returned after the bank had only been open for a few months, but even then, on general grounds, the local officers were inclined to think that the experiment would prove a failure.

\* According to the statistical account of Assam, Vol. I, p. 159, only 1,386 letters etc., were received, and 1,034 despatched from the district in 1861-62.

The mail is carried to Darrang by steamer, and is distributed by runners throughout the district, except in the case of post offices along the Tezpur-Balipara Railway, which are served by rail. Statement B in the Appendix shows the places at which post and telegraph offices are situated.

The trade of Darrang is not of very much importance. Commerce  
and Trade. External trade is carried on almost entirely with Calcutta, and most of it enters and leaves the district by steamers. The principal exports are tea, mustard seed, rubber, hides, and canes, while the articles received in exchange are rice, gram, and other grains, kerosine and other oils, piece goods, machinery, hardware, and salt. Apart from tea nearly all the export and import trade is in the hands of the Marwari merchants, locally known as kaiyas, who are the great shopkeepers and money-lenders of the Assam Valley. They purchase their surplus products from the raiyats, and supply them in return with cloth, thread, salt, oil, and, very often, opium. Tezpur is the principal trading centre of the district, and after Tezpur, but *longo intervallo*, comes Mangaldai. In these two places there are a certain number of Muhammadan shopkeepers from Eastern Bengal, who deal in general haberdashery and oilman's stores. A list of the villages in which there are three or more permanent shops will be found in the Appendix. Each tea garden is also a small centre of trade, and on every estate there are one or two kaiyas shops.

Retail business is to a great extent transacted at weekly Markets. markets, which are generally held in the vicinity of the

larger tea gardens. The articles offered for sale include rice and other grain, fruit and country vegetables, poultry, earthenware and metal vessels, oil, molasses, tobacco, and cotton cloth. Two of the largest markets are those at Amaribari and Bindukuri, which, like most of these bazars, are held upon a Sunday. On the previous day lines of carts are to be seen coming in from the direction of Orang, laden with poultry, rice, and other rural produce. Special trains are run from Tezpur to serve these *hats*, and are crowded with shopkeepers and their wares. Other considerable markets are those at Barjuli, at Paneri and Kalaigaon in Mangaldai, and at Chutia east of the Bhareli. A list of the places where markets are held will be found in the Appendix (Statement D).

**Transfrontier Trade.** Transfrontier trade is carried on at the fairs held at Odalguri, and Ghagrapara; and starting from these centres the Bhutias spread over the country. The principal imports are blankets, cattle, sheep, small shaggy ponies, wax, and musk; the chief exports are cotton twist and piece goods, rice, and silk cloth.

The Bhutias at one time did a considerable trade in salt at Odalguri, as they bartered it for rice with the villagers, at rates which were very favourable to themselves. The improvement in communications, and the opening of large and flourishing plantations near Tezpur, produced a marked change in the relative value of these two commodities. Liverpool salt became more accessible in the Kaçhari mauzas, and traders from Tezpur who came with their carts to make purchases at Odalguri and Orang sent up the price of rice. At one time the

Kacharis willingly gave 15 seers of rice for one of salt, but, as the price of rice began to rise, the villagers complained of the exactions of the Bhutias, and at the durbar of 1886 the rate of exchange was fixed at 8 to 1. This rate was certainly high, but it was not high enough for the Bhutias, and in the winter of 1888-89 they created some annoyance by leaving salt at the houses of the people, when the men were at work in the fields, and then demanding 12 or 15 times its weight in rice. The matter was promptly settled by the Deputy Commissioner, who refused to pay the *posa* to the Gelengs, until they had signed an agreement, in which it was provided that the rate of exchange should be 4 to 1. At this rate the export of salt is not very remunerative to the Bhutias, and there has in consequence been some falling off in trade at the Odalguri fair. Rubber is also imported from the Dafla and Aka Hills, but is generally taken direct to the kaiyas' shops.

In the Mangaldai subdivision fairs are held on the occasion of the Baisakh Bihu, which are attended by considerable numbers of villagers. A list of the places where the principal fairs are held will be found in Statement E. in the Appendix. Fairs.

Tezpur is the only place in the district which has the Tezpur  
town. smallest title to the name of town. It has already been suggested (page 22) that it is probably identical with Durjaya, the capital of the Pala kings, and, if this assumption is correct, it must once have been a place of very considerable importance. The existence of the magnificent temple ruins on the Bamuni hills, and the

massive pieces of carved stone which are found lying about the station, clearly show that it was once the seat of a civilized and powerful prince. But it was never the capital either of the Koch or Ahom kings, and at the time when we came into possession of the district it was nothing more than a small, unhealthy village. Even in 1872, it only had a population of 1,877 persons. Since that date it has grown with some rapidity, and the figures for the three last enumerations were—1881, 2,910; 1891, 4,011; and 1901, 5,047.

Tezpur is situated on the right bank of the Brahmaputra in  $26^{\circ}37'$  N. and  $92^{\circ}47'$  E. The north trunk road passes through the town. It is a port of call for river steamers, and a railway connects it with the country to the north. The houses of the European residents are built on low hills along the river bank, from which a magnificent view is to be obtained on a clear day of the Himalayan snows. Behind these hills there is a green maidan, dotted over with magnificent umbrageous trees and tastefully laid out with plants and flowering shrubs. The native and business quarter is situated at the back.

The town was constituted a municipality under Act V(B.C.) of 1876 in 1893. The municipal committee is composed of ten members, eight of whom are nominated by the Chief Commissioner, while the Deputy Commissioner, who acts as chairman, and the Civil Surgeon, are *ex-officio* members of the board. A tax is levied at the rate of 5 per cent on the annual value of holdings, which had an incidence of 6 annas 4 pie per head of population in 1903-04. From Table XVIII it will be seen that the

proportion of revenue raised by direct taxation is very small. Drinking water is obtained either from the Brahmaputra or from four excellent masonry wells. Nine miles of metalled and six miles of unmetalled road are maintained by the municipality.

Mangaldai is a village, which in 1901 had only 711 <sup>Mangaldai.</sup> inhabitants, but it is the headquarters of the subdivision, and contains the residence of the Subdivisional Officer. The public buildings include the magistrate's court, a small jail, a police station, and a dispensary. There is a small bazar, but the trade is not of much importance. The village is situated on the left bank of the Mangaldai river and immediately to the south there is a large *chaporī*, or wide stretch of marshy country, reaching to the Brahmaputra.

In the early days of British administration there <sup>Local Boards.</sup> was little money available for public works of any kind, and what there was was generally expended under the control of the Public Works Department or the District Magistrate.

In 1872, the management of the district roads was entrusted to a committee presided over by the Deputy Commissioner. The funds at their disposal were partly obtained from tolls and ferries on local roads and other miscellaneous sources, but principally from grants made by the Bengal Government from the amalgamated district road fund. In 1874, when Assam was erected into a separate Administration, the Government of India assigned one-seventeenth of the net land revenue for local purposes. The district improvement fund was then

started, and the administration of its resources was as before entrusted to the Deputy Commissioner assisted by a committee. The actual amount placed at their disposal was not large, and in 1875-76 the total income of the district funds of the province was only Rs. 1,85,000, which was a small sum in comparison with the twelve and a half lakhs of rupees received by the Local Boards in 1903-04. In 1879, a Regulation was passed, providing for the levy of a local rate, and the appointment of a committee in each district to control the expenditure on roads, primary education, and the district post. Three years later the district committees were abolished by executive order, and their place was taken by boards established in each subdivision, which are the local authorities in existence at the present day. The Deputy Commissioner is chairman of the board of the headquarters subdivision, but the Mangaldai board is presided over by the Subdivisional Officer. The Local Boards are entrusted with the maintenance of all roads within their jurisdiction, except a few main lines of communication, the provision and maintenance of local staging bungalows and dispensaries, and the supervision of village sanitation, vaccination, and the district post. They are also in charge of primary education, subject to the general control of the Education Department, and are empowered to make grants-in-aid to schools of higher grade, subject to certain rules. For these purposes, they have placed at their disposal the rate which is levied under the Assam Local Rates Regulation of 1879 at the rate of one anna per rupee on

the annual value of lands, as well as the surplus income of pounds and ferries, and some minor receipts. This income is supplemented by an annual grant from Provincial Funds. The principal heads of income and expenditure are shown in Table XVII. The annual budgets of the boards are submitted to the Commissioner for sanction. The estimates for all works costing Rs. 500 or over must be submitted to the Public Works Department for approval, and important works, requiring much professional skill, are made over for execution to that department. Less important works are entrusted to the board overseers.



## CHAPTER VII.

## GENERAL ADMINISTRATION.

Land revenue—Native system—Early settlements—The settlement of 1893—The growth of land revenue—Town lands—Established and fluctuating cultivation—Annual and periodic leases—Settlement staff—Land tenures—Collection of land revenue—Tahsil-dari and mauzadari system—Area of unsettled waste—System of excise—Opium—Country spirit—Laopani—Ganja—Income tax—Stamps—Public Works—Government—Administration of justice—Registration—Volunteering—Police—Jails—Education—Medical aspects—Lunatic asylum—Surveys.

**Land  
revenue:  
Native  
system.**

The revenue system in force under the Ahom kings was one of personal service. The whole of the adult male population was divided into bodies of three men called *gots*, each individual being styled a *paik*. One *paik* out of the three was always engaged on labour for the state, and while so employed was supported by the remaining members of his *got*. In return for his labour each *paik* was allowed 8 *tighas*\* of *rupit* land, and the land occupied by his house and garden, which is now called *basti*, free of revenue. Any land taken up in excess of this amount was assessed at Re.0.4.0 a *bigha*. In addition to this the villagers paid a hearth tax of one rupee for each party cooking separately.

Buchanan Hamilton, writing in 1809, states that each pargana was let for a term of years to a Chaudri, who

\* One acre = 3.025 bighas.

made what profit he could out of land held in excess of the *paiks'* free grants. The Chaudris are said to have retained for their own use three-fifths of the gross collections, and to have treated the raiyats in a very oppressive manner. The nominal rent per plough of land in Kamrup was Rs. 2, but the exactions of the Chaudri raised it to Rs. 5 or Rs. 7. The yield of a plough was said to be 79 maunds of "rough rice" and 16 maunds of mustard seed, and as estimates of yield prior to the era of crop experiments were generally too high, the area of a plough was probably between four and five acres, and the rates exacted by the Chaudri must at that time have seemed oppressive. These remarks have been quoted as in all probability the system prevailing in Darrang was not dissimilar from that existing in Kamrup.

North of the Brahmaputra, the whole of the profits of agriculture were, according to the same authority, absorbed by the Government or the hill tribes, each power sending a force, which took as much as possible from the cultivators. On the occupation of the country by the British, the system of compulsory labour was abolished and the *puk* land was assessed to revenue. The rates varied slightly from time to time, but prior to 1865 did not exceed 6 annas per *bigha* for *rupit* and 4 annas 6 pie for other kinds of land. In that year the Commissioner, Lieutenant-Colonel Hopkinson, proposed to discriminate between *basti* or garden and other land and to raise the *bigha* rates to Re. 1 for *basti*, 10 annas for *rupit*, and 8 annas for other land. No detailed enquiries were made, there was no attempt to estimate the comparative value of the

Early  
settlements  
and  
settlement  
of 1868-69.

three different classes of land, there was no discrimination between good and bad land in the same class or even between district and district. The revised rates were, however, so moderate that it was never seriously contended that they would have an oppressive incidence even on the worst land on which they were imposed. Colonel Hopkinson was of opinion that the existing assessment was ridiculously low, and in support of his opinion pointed out that in 1864-65 the receipts from opium were about 4 lakhs of rupees more than the total land revenue of his division, an excess which in those days represented a difference of about 40 per cent. The new assessment was successfully introduced in 1868-69, and in spite of the enormous enhancement the revenue was collected without difficulty.

**The settlement of 1893-94.** The next settlement was made in 1893. The three-fold division of land was retained, but instead of imposing the same rate on all land of the same class throughout the district, the villages were divided into four grades and the rates assessed varied with the grade of the village.\* The villages were provisionally graded by the Director of Land Records and Agriculture, the class in which each village was placed being determined

\* The following were the rates assessed per *bigha* :-

Class.	Basti.	Rupit.	Faringati
	Rs. a.	Rs. a.	Rs. a. per bigha.
1st	1 6	1 0	0 12
2nd	1 4	0 14	0 10
3rd	1 2	0 12	0 9
4th	1 0	0 10	0 8

by the demand for land, and not by any intrinsic considerations of the value of the produce, the fertility of the soil, or the profits of cultivation. The demand for land was estimated by ascertaining the density of the population, the proportion of settled to unsettled land, and the proportion of fluctuating cultivation. These lists were sent to local officers for examination, and were modified by them in view of the fertility of the soil, the facilities for bringing the produce to market, and the rents paid by subtenants where ascertainable. This enquiry was carried out by the ordinary district staff, within the space of a single cold weather, and the results obtained made no pretensions to scientific accuracy. Such accuracy was considered to be unnecessary, as it was not intended to impose anything like the maximum assessment on the land. The Government had no desire to assess up to its fair share of the value of the produce of the soil, and under these circumstances it was contended that it would be waste of time and money to have recourse to any minute and elaborate classification of the soils, to crop experiments on a large scale, or to a close examination of all the elements that affect the net profits of the cultivator. The theory on which the settlement was based was that the worst lands were capable of bearing the assessment imposed, and that Government alone was a loser by its inequalities.

The following statement shows the gradual expansion *Growth of the land revenue.* of the land revenue and the settled area since the *the land revenue.*

district first came under our administration :—

A. D.	Rs.	Acres.
1834-35	1,07,302	107,788
1852-53	1,79,578	221,849
1865-66	1,94,846	193,465
1868-69	3,57,768	<i>not available.</i>
1892-93	4,96,632	370,933
1893-94	6,43,820	372,399
1902-03	7,23,876	426,827

The figures for years in which a new settlement was introduced are printed in italics.

**Town  
lands.**

Tezpur town was resettled for thirty years with effect from April 1899. The highest rates assessed per acre of trade sites were Rs. 30 rising to Rs. 45 in the eleventh year ; and for each acre of residential land Rs. 18 rising to Rs. 24. Under the rules now in force waste land taken up for the first time within town limits is to be settled ordinarily for a term of thirty years, at a fair rent not exceeding the annual letting value of the site. The lease of the land applied for may, if the Deputy Commissioner thinks fit, be put up to auction and knocked down to the highest bidder. Land in Mangaldai village is assessed at the rate of Rs. 2 per *bigha*.

**Established  
and fluctu-  
ating culti-  
vation.** The system of cultivation in the district falls into two main heads, established and fluctuating. In the established area the staple crop is *sali* or transplanted paddy, land is not readily resigned, and frequently possesses a considerable market value. In the fluctuating tracts the staple crops are mustard, pulse, and summer rice (*ahu*), and continual change is one of the essential elements of cultivation, the same field being seldom cropped for more than three years in succession. The fluctuating area is found near the Brahmaputra, and more especially at the western end of the district.

The bulk of the land on which the staple crops are grown is held direct from Government by the actual cultivators of the soil on annual or periodic leases. The periodic lease confers a right of re-settlement and a heritable and transferable title. Annual leases merely authorize the occupation of the land for a single year, though in practice the rights of transfer, inheritance, and re-settlement are recognized. The only drawback of the annual lease lies in the fact that if the land happens to be required by Government, it can be resumed without payment of compensation to the occupant. Land held under either form of lease or any individual field within the holding can be resigned, on formal notice of the fact being given to the Collector.

The basis of the land revenue system is the mandal <sup>The Man-</sup>  
<sub>dal.</sub> the village accountant and surveyor, who draws a modest stipend ranging from Rs. 8 to Rs. 12 per mensem. In March, he proceeds to his circle, inspects the fields which have been formally resigned to see whether they have been actually relinquished, tests the boundaries of fields taken up in recent years to see whether they are in accordance with the map, and surveys land which has been broken up for what is called the regular settlement or for which a formal application has been filed. His two principal registers are the *dagechitha*, in which particulars are entered for each field within the village, and the *jamabandi* or rent roll, which classifies the fields by holdings and shows the area covered by each lease. During the hot weather he is occupied with the revision of his maps and registers, and the preparation of his leases.

When the winter comes, he again proceeds to the field, distributes the leases he has prepared, and surveys the land which has been broken up since his former tour, and which is included in what is known as the *dariabadi* or supplementary settlement. He is also required to prepare statistics of the area under different crops, he assists in the collection of the revenue, and is often ordered to report on local disputes connected with the land. In most Provinces in India a settlement is concluded for a term of years. During its currency no land which is held on lease can be resigned, and there is not as a rule any appreciable quantity of waste land to be taken up. The state of affairs in Darrang is very different. In 1902-03 the total settled area was 426,827 acres, the area excluded from settlement was 17,211 acres, and the area of land included 27,639 acres. It must not, however, be supposed that this kaleidoscopic shifting of the fields is taking place in every portion of the district, and that everywhere may be seen the spectacle of cultivated land becoming jungle and jungle land changing into fields of waving rice. In the established portion land is seldom given up, but in the fluctuating area, as has been already explained, it is less trouble to burn the jungle and break up new land every second or third year, than to clean the fields of the weeds which spring up after they have been two or three times cropped.

**Superior  
settlement  
staff.**

Above the mandal comes the supervisor kanungo, a peripatetic officer on pay ranging from Rs. 30 to Rs. 40. who checks his work both in the field and in the office. The superior revenue officers are called sub-deputy

collectors and draw salaries ranging from Rs.100 to Rs.200 per mensem. The appointments are usually made by selection from candidates, who must be of good physique and moral character, of respectable family, under 25 years of age, and must either have taken a university degree or have read up to that standard.

The total sanctioned staff for the Darrang district is two sub-deputy collectors, excluding those employed as tahsildars, eight supervisor kanungoes, and 146 mandals.

The different tenures in the district fall under <sup>Land Ten-</sup> two main classes (1) those under which land is held <sup>ures.</sup> for the cultivation of ordinary crops, and (2) those under which grants have been made for the growth of tea or other crops, which are not included amongst the ordinary staples of the Province, and which require a considerable amount of capital for their production. The bulk of the land included in the first class is settled under the ordinary rules at full rates, but there are also considerable areas of revenue free (*lakhiraj*) land and land settled at half rates (*nisi-khiraj*). In the time of the Ahom kings the whole of this land is said to have been held rent free, but in 1834 the Government of India ruled that "all rights to hold lands free of assessment founded on grants made by any former Government must be considered to have been cancelled by the British conquest. All claims therefore for restoration to such tenures can rest only on the indulgence of Government without any right." Mr. David Scott, the first British Commissioner of Assam,

found that, even under the Ahom Rajas, these revenue free lands had been assessed at the rate of five annas a *pura*,\* and he imposed this cess, which was subsequently raised to eight annas, upon them. The Government of India then directed that an enquiry should be instituted into these claims, and that all cases in which land was held on *bondā fide* grants dating from before the time of the Burmese conquest, or on account of services which were still performed, should be reported to them for orders. These instructions were not fully observed by the Commissioner of that time, Captain (subsequently General) Jenkins. This officer, for reasons which have never been ascertained, drew a broad distinction between *debottar* or temple lands and *brahmottar* and *dharmaottar* lands, i.e., lands which were devoted to some religious purpose but were not actually the property of a temple. The former he released from all claims for revenue, on the latter he imposed the rate assessed by Mr. Scott, which happened to be half the full rates prevailing at the time. No report was submitted to the Government of India and no final orders were ever received from them, but the right of the former class of proprietors to hold free of revenue, and of the latter at half the usual rates, has been definitely recognised. Waste land included within the boundaries of *nisī-khiraj* estates is at present assessed at 1 anna 3 pies per *bigha*, and as the proportion of uncultivated land in these estates is fairly high, this assessment adds considerably to the gross demand. The total area of *lakhiraj* land in the district in 1903-04 was 5,071

\* A *pura* = 4 *bighas*, 3.025 *bighas* = 1 acre.

acres and of *nisfi-khiraj* land 31,058 acres. The area settled year by year at full rates is shown in the appendix.

Two sets of rules were in force for the grant of land for tea prior to 1862. The underlying principle in each case was that the land should be held on long leases, at low but progressive rates of revenue, and that precautions should be taken against land speculation by the imposition of clearance conditions. Between 1862 and 1876, the fee simple tenure of waste land grants was put up to auction at an upset price of Rs.2-8-0 an acre, which in 1874 was raised to Rs. 8. The holders of grants under the earlier rules of 1838 and 1854 were allowed to purchase a fee simple tenure by payment of twenty times the revenue then due, provided that the clearance conditions had been carried out. Advantage was very generally taken of this concession, and there is no longer in the district any land held under the rules of 1838 and only 293 acres under the rules of 1854, while there are 52,197 acres held on fee simple tenure. The existing rules came into force in 1876. The land is sold at an upset price of Re. 1 per acre, for though it is nominally put up to auction there is no case on record in which more than one applicant appeared to bid. For two years the grant remains revenue free, and the rates gradually rise to 8 annas an acre in the eleventh, and one rupee in the twenty-first year. The lease runs for 30 years, and when it expires the land is liable to re-assessment. The total area settled under these rules will be found in Table XV in the appendix.

**Grant of  
land for the  
cultivation  
of special  
crops.**

**Collection  
of land re-  
venue.**

The collection of ordinary land revenue was first introduced in Darrang in 1833. The lands in each village were measured up by an amin, leases were issued to the raiyats, and an officer, called the *patghiri*, was made responsible for the collection of the revenue. In 1841-42, a new experiment was tried. Settlement was made with the *patghiri* for a term of years, and he was held responsible for any losses that might occur, but was allowed to absorb any profits that accrued from the extension of cultivation. This system proved, however, to be unsatisfactory, and was abandoned, and recourse was again had to the annual settlement, under which the fiscal officer was only responsible for the collection of the revenue. The experiment was also tried of farming out the *chapori* mahals to the highest bidder, but it was found that the cultivators were oppressed, and their holdings were accordingly settled with them direct. The cost of collection was, however, heavy. The *patghiri* or fiscal officer, received as remuneration 10 per cent of the collections, and was assisted by a *kakati*, who received 5 per cent. To this must be added the cost of a considerable number of chaukidars, each of whom received 16 *bighas* of rent free land.\*

**Larger  
mauzas and  
tahsils.**

In 1853, there were no less than 149 mauzas in Darrang, containing on an average 14 villages with a revenue of Rs. 1,215. The general tendency since that date has been to increase the size of the unit of collection. In 1867, the mauzadars, as the collecting officers

\*See Report on the Province of Assam by A. J. Moffatt Mills. Darrang, para. 28. Calcutta, 1854.

were called, received 15 per cent of the revenue as commission, and were allowed half the revenue of land reclaimed during the currency of the settlement. Three years later their commission was reduced to 10 per cent, and in 1872 the further restriction was imposed that this 10 per cent could only be drawn on the first Rs.6,000 of revenue, 5 per cent being allowed on revenue in excess of that sum. In 1883, the idea gained ground that Government would do better by putting the mauzadar aside and employing salaried officials as a collecting agency. Mauzas were accordingly amalgamated and placed in charge of an official called a tahsildar, who was remunerated by a fixed salary, and was exempted from the responsibility imposed upon the mauzadar of paying in the revenue on the due dates, irrespective of the amounts actually collected by him. The first tahsil was opened at Tezpur in 1884. Then, in 1886, came Hindughopa, subsequently transferred to Patharughat; Kalaigaon in 1888; and Mangaldai in 1892. These three tahsils are all situated in the southern and central part of the Mangaldai subdivision. The last tahsil to be opened was the one at Chutia, east of the Bhareli, in 1893. This arrangement left about 30 per cent of the land revenue demand to be collected by mauzadars.

The tahsildari system is cheaper than that of collection through mauzadars, the cost in one case being about 5 per cent, in the other 7 per cent of the gross amount realized. Serious difficulties are, however, experienced in dealing direct with such a large body of raiyats, and there is no doubt that the tahsil system

Comparative advantages of tahsildars and mauzadars.

is not as popular with the people as the one which it replaced. A mauzadar of experience knows whether delay in payment is due to shortness of funds or to recalcitrancy ; he knows the time which is most convenient for payment in individual cases, and as he is not bound by the *kist* dates his collection admits of an elasticity which no Government rules can establish. It has the further advantage of providing a body of representative men, who, while regarded by the people as their leaders, are bound to the Government by the facts of their position. It has accordingly been decided to try the experiment of gradually breaking up the tahsils and substituting in their place mauzadars, who will be entrusted with the duty of collecting from Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 30,000 of revenue.

**Compul-**  
**sory reali-**  
**sation of**  
**revenue.**

The revenue demand on account of the regular settlement is due in two instalments, three-fifths on January 15th, and two-fifths on the 15th February, except in those villages which meet the Government demand from the sale of mustard and pulse, when it is due in one instalment on March 15th. The demand on account of the supplementary settlement is also due in one instalment on that date. In 1903-04, notice of demand\* was issued on account of 10 per cent of the total land revenue demand, but it was only necessary to attach property on account of 2 per cent of the demand. The number of cases in which it was necessary to have recourse to sale was very small, and the revenue on

\* The Deputy Commissioner has since been authorized to dispense with the notice of demand in those cases in which he considers it advisable to do so and to proceed at once to the attachment of the property of the defaulter.

account of which property was sold only represented 0·1 per cent of the total demand.

The figures in the margin show the total area of the ~~district as reported by the Assistant Surveyor-General, Calcutta,~~  
~~Area of unsettled waste.~~

Square miles.	
Total area of the district,	3,418
Settled area	... 667
Area of reserved forests	321
Area of waste land	... 2,430

the settled area and the area of reserved forests in 1902-03, and the area of waste land at the disposal of Government in that year. No less than 71 per cent of the total area of the district falls in the latter category, but it must not be supposed that the whole of this area is fit for cultivation or human habitation. The figures include the area of roads, and of tracts that are permanently under water, which in Darrang with its networks of rivers draining into the mighty Brahmaputra amounts to a very considerable total. It also includes the area of marshes which are submerged during the rainy season, and are hardly fit for permanent habitation, and of land which is too high or barren to be fit for the growth of food crops. It is useless to attempt to form any estimate of the proportion of the unsettled area in which cultivation could be carried on with profit, and it is hardly necessary to do so, as it is obvious that the district could support a very much larger population than it now possesses.

The unsettled area in each tahsil and mauza is still enormous. Details will be found in Table XV A

More than three-fourths of the excise revenue of ~~Darrang is usually obtained from opium. Prior to 1860, Opium.~~  
~~System of excise;~~

poppy. The evil effects of unrestrained indulgence in opium were undeniable, and in that year poppy cultivation was prohibited ; and the drug was issued from the treasury, the price charged being Rs. 14 a seer. This was raised to Rs. 20 in 1862, Rs. 22 in 1863, Rs. 23 in 1873, Rs. 24 in 1875, Rs. 26 in 1879, Rs. 32 in 1883, and Rs. 37 in 1890, the price at which it now stands. While Assam was under the Bengal Government licenses for the retail vend of opium were issued free of charge. In 1874, a fee of Rs. 12 per annum was levied on each shop, and in the following year it was raised to Rs. 18. Between 1877 and 1883, the right to sell opium in a particular *mahal* was put up to auction, but this system was found to be unsatisfactory, and in the latter year the individual shops were sold, as is done at the present day. The general result of the Government policy has been to enormously reduce the facilities for obtaining the drug. In 1873-74, there were in the district 856 shops for the retail vend of opium ; thirty years later there were only 100.

Consumption.

The following figures for consumption show the extent to which the use of opium has been affected by the raising of the duty : 1873-74, 237 maunds ; 1879-80, 275 maunds ; 1889-90, 207 maunds ; 1899-1900, 179 maunds. 1879-80 shows a large increase over the figures of 1873-74, but some exceptional cause was apparently in operation in the latter year as the average annual consumption between 1875 and 1880 was only 248 maunds.

The quantity of opium issued in 1899-1900 was 28 per cent less than this average of 20 years before. This decrease is probably due to a reduction in the number of shops, to an increase in the rate of duty by 13 rupees a seer, and to the fact that the price of opium is now so high that non-consumers have a very distinct inducement to abstain from taking to such an expensive habit.

In 1835, the retail price of opium was reported by the Collector, Mr. Mathie, to be Rs. 5 per seer. Since 1890, it has ranged from Rs. 40 to Rs. 50 a seer, and it is obvious that such an enormous increase in the price must have a very perceptible effect upon consumption.

About three-fifths of the total quantity of opium taken by the district is consumed in Mangaldai, where the drug is much in favour amongst the Kachari population.

Opium is generally swallowed in the form of pills or mixed with water and drunk. Madak is made by mixing boiled opium with pieces of dried pan leaf, and stirring it over the fire. The compound is then rolled up into pills and smoked. Chandu is made out of opium boiled with water till the water has all evaporated, and is smoked like madak in the form of pills. Opium is not generally smoked in Assam, and this form of taking the drug is usually supposed to be more injurious than when it is simply swallowed.

Way in  
which  
opium is  
taken.

The outstill system is still in force in the district, country  
spirit. that is to say, the right to manufacture and sell spirit at

a particular locality is put up to auction, and no attempt

Year.	Number of shop s.	Revenue. Rs.
1873-74	11	1,457
1879-80	18	6,887
1889-90	21	19,094
1899-1900	15	48,327

is made to levy duty on the actual quantity of spirit distilled. The abstract in the margin shows that during the last twenty years of the

century there was a considerable increase in the revenue derived from country spirits.

Between 1881 and 1901, the foreign population of the district, and it is the foreigners who consume the bulk of the country spirit sold, increased four and a half fold. In spite of this, the facilities for obtaining liquor were very considerably reduced. The revenue realized depends upon the amount of competition when the shops are put up to auction. In a sparsely populated district like Darrang there were few representatives of the liquor trading classes, and the vendors were thus enabled to absorb an unduly large proportion of the profits. Towards the end of the century efforts were made to ensure that the liquor vendors should pay a substantial sum for their licenses, though the number of shops was reduced by 29 per cent.

The attention of the administration has been more than once directed to the discovery of the most effective means of discouraging a taste for drinking, but one of the most serious obstacles to improvement lies in the fact that if the supply of licensed liquor is cut off, rice beer and spirit can be readily manufactured by the people. Complaints have been received of excessive drunkenness on tea gardens, which were situated far

beyond the reach of any licensed liquor shop. The outstill system is not theoretically the most desirable, but owing to the difficulty of communications, and the facilities that exist for the manufacture of illicit liquor, it has not yet been found possible to introduce any more satisfactory method in its place. The following measures have recently been introduced with the object of reducing as far as possible the evils attendant on the liquor trade. A special excise establishment has been entertained, the vendor is required to arrange for an abundant supply of good drinking water near his shop, and his license can be withdrawn if he is twice convicted of allowing drunkenness and disorderly conduct near the still. The liquor shops which do the largest business are situated at Bindukuri, Balipara, Tezpur, Harka, and Sakomati.

Country spirit is manufactured by native methods, and generally in what is known as the open still. The apparatus employed consists of a large brass or copper retort, which is placed over the fire, to the top of which is fitted the still head, a compound vessel, part of which is made of earthen ware and part of brass. The wash is placed in the retort, and as it boils rises in the form of vapour into the still head, over the outer surface of which a stream of cold water is continually kept flowing. As the vapour cools it is precipitated in the form of liquid, and is carried off by a bamboo tube into a vessel placed at the side. The mouth of this tube is open, and the spirit trickles from it into the vessel beneath, so that the outer air has access by this channel into the still head and

**Country  
spirit. The  
still.**

retort in which the process of distillation is going on. In the closed still the vapour passes down two tubes into two receivers, where it is cooled and condenses into liquid. These tubes are so fixed to the receivers that the air cannot have access to the spirit, and though distillation does not proceed so rapidly, the liquor produced is stronger than that obtained from the open still.

**Material employed.**

The material employed is generally the flower of the mohwa tree (*bassia latifolia*) which contains a very large proportion of sugar, but its place is sometimes taken by molasses and rice. The following are the proportions in which these ingredients are generally mixed : mohwa 30 seers and water 60 seers ; or mohwa 25 seers, molasses 5 seers, and water 60 seers ; or boiled rice 20 seers, molasses 10 seers, and water 80 seers. *Bakhar*, a substance composed of leaves, roots, and spices, whose actual ingredients are not divulged by the villagers who manufacture it, is frequently added to the wash, which is put to ferment in barrels. Fermentation takes three or four days in summer and a week in the cold weather, and the wash is then considered to be ready for the still. The process of distillation takes about three hours. A retort of 40 gallons yields two gallons of spirit in an hour and three-quarters, three gallons in two hours and a quarter, and four gallons in three hours. The best and strongest spirit comes off first, and in the case of a brew of 30 seers of mohwa, the first  $3\frac{1}{2}$  gallons will be classed as *phul* if they are at once drawn off from the receiver. If they are allowed to remain while two more gallons are distilled, the whole  $5\frac{1}{2}$  gallons will be classed as *bangla*. The exact

proportions vary, however, at the different shops, some distillers taking  $4\frac{1}{2}$  gallons of *phul* or  $5\frac{1}{2}$  gallons of *bangla* from 30 seers of mohwa. Occasionally only two gallons of spirit are distilled from 30 seers of mohwa, and the liquor is then called *thul*, is very strong, and is sold for one or two rupees a quart. *Thul* is also sometimes made by redistilling *bangla*. Only one kind of liquor is generally taken from each distillation as if the *thul* or *phul* were removed, the spirit subsequently distilled would be not only weak but impure. Strong liquor watered to reduce it to a lower strength is not considered palatable, and it seems to be the usual practice to distil the liquor at the actual strength at which it will be sold. One disadvantage of the cheaper kind of liquor is that it will not keep, and in four or five weeks it is said to lose all its spirituous qualities.

*Laopani* or rice beer is the national drink of the unconverted tribes, and a special name, *modahi*, is applied to those who have to some extent attorned to Hinduism but have not yet abandoned their ancestral liquor. It is also taken by some of the humble Hindu castes, and is largely used by garden coolies if facilities are not afforded to them for obtaining country spirit. The following is the usual system of manufacture followed : The rice is boiled and spread on a mat, and *bakhar* is powdered and sprinkled over it. After about twelve hours it is transferred to an earthen jar, the mouth of which is closed, and left to ferment for three or four days. Water is then added and allowed to stand for a few hours, and the beer is at last considered to be ready. The usual proportions are

5 seers of rice and 3 chattaks of *bakhar* to some 8 or 10 quarts of water, and the liquor produced is said to be much stronger than most European beers. Liquor is often illicitly distilled from *laopani* or boiled rice, by a simple method. An earthen pot with a hole in the bottom is placed on the top of the vessel containing the *laopani* or rice, and the whole is set on the fire. The mouth of the upper pot is closed by a cone-shaped vessel filled with cold water, and a saucer is placed at the bottom of the pot over the hole. The vapour rises into the upper of the two jars, condenses against the cold cone, with which the mouth is closed, and falls in the form of spirit on to the saucer beneath. Care must of course be taken to see that the various cracks are closed against the passage of the spirituous vapour, but this can easily be done with strips of cloth.

**Ganja.**

Ganja is usually mixed with water, kneaded till it becomes soft, cut into small strips, and smoked. Wild ganja grows very freely in Assam, but it is doubtful whether it is much used except as a medicine for cattle. It does not produce such strong effects as the ganja of Rajshahi, but the leaves are sometimes dried and mixed with milk, water, and sugar to form a beverage. Ganja is not much used except by foreigners, and from Table XVI it will be seen that the revenue raised from this drug is comparatively small, and that most of it is obtained from the sadr subdivision. It is imported from Rajshahi in bond by a wholesale dealer who pays a duty of Rs. 11 per seer when issuing it for sale to the retail vendors. The right

of retail sale is put up to auction.

The total receipts under the head of income tax in <sup>Income</sup> <sub>Tax</sub> 1903-04 amounted to Rs. 15,654, two-thirds of which were derived from the salaries of garden managers and their staff. The receipts under the head of other sources of income amounted to Rs. 2,112 paid by 74 persons. About three-fourths of this was paid by 60 dealers in piece goods, the head under which the general merchant who sells grain, oil, salt and other miscellaneous articles is classified. Some of the largest firms of Kaiyas are, however, assessed in Calcutta on the profits that they make in Darrang. The only other assesseees under this part were five pleaders, five mauzadars, three graziers and a liquor seller. The assessment lists are annually revised by the tahsildars and mauzadars, and notices issued on those concerned to show cause if they desire to do so. Darrang is a progressive district, and the receipts under this head of revenue steadily increased from Rs. 12,300 in 1888 to Rs. 21,300 in 1900. The marked decrease which occurred in 1904 was chiefly due to the fact that the minimum taxable income was raised from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 per annum by Act XI of 1903.

The receipts under the head of judicial and non-<sup>stamps</sup> judicial stamps are considerably lower than those obtained from any other district in the plains except Nowgong. In 1903-04, they only amounted to Rs. 25,577 under the former head, as compared with Rs. 17,568 in Nowgong, the lowest district in the plains, and Rs. 4,04,169 in

Sylhet. The corresponding figures for non-judicial stamps were Rs. 6,396, Rs. 3,923, and Rs. 1,51,623 respectively.

**Public  
Works.**

Public works are in charge of an Executive or Assistant Engineer, who acts as Engineer of the Nowgong district and is usually assisted by two upper and four lower subordinates.

The Public Works Department are entrusted with the construction and maintenance of all the large public buildings. The most important are the jail, the public offices, schools, and post and telegraph offices at district and subdivisional headquarters, circuit houses, dâk bungalows, and inspection bungalows on provincial roads. Inspection bungalows on other roads are maintained by the Local Boards. The provincial roads, which are directly under the department, are a section of the north trunk road, 151 miles in length, from Dumni-chaki to Howhajan and the road from Mangaldai to the steamer ghat.

It has already been explained that Local Board works that require professional skill or engineering knowledge are usually made over to the Executive Engineer for execution. The principal difficulties with which the department has to contend are the absence of an artizan class, and the scarcity and dearness of unskilled labour. It is to these two causes that the heavy cost of public works in Darrang is largely due.

**Govern-  
ment.**

For general administrative purposes the district is divided into two subdivisions. Tezpur is under the

immediate charge of the Deputy Commissioner, and Mangaldai is entrusted to an Assistant Magistrate, who is almost invariably a European.

The Deputy Commissioner is allowed one subordinate magistrate and a sub-deputy collector as his assistants, and a second magistrate and a sub-deputy collector are usually posted at Mangaldai.

Appeals lie to the Deputy Commissioner from the <sup>Criminal and Civil Justice.</sup> orders passed by magistrates of the second or third class, and from the orders of first class magistrates to the Judge of the Assam Valley. Appeals from the Judge lie to the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal. In 1902, there were six stipendiary and two honorary magistrates in the district, and the former decided 943 and the latter 101 original criminal cases. In the course of these proceedings 2,847 witnesses were examined. Altogether there were 1,159 cases under the Indian Penal Code returned as true, the immense majority of which were either offences against property or against the human body. The people are as whole law-abiding and there is not much serious crime in Darrang, and most of these offences were either petty assaults or thefts of small sums.

The civil work in Darrang is lighter than in any other district in the plains and the Deputy Commissioner acts as sub-judge, while one of the assistant magistrates in each subdivision discharges the functions of a munsif. In 1902, the sub-judge heard three original cases and seven appeals, while 1,098 original suits were disposed of by

the munsifs. Almost all of these cases were simple money suits and more than three-fourths of them were disposed of without contest. Further details with regard to criminal and civil business will be found in Table XI

**Registration.**

The Deputy Commissioner is also the Registrar of the district and one of the assistant magistrates act as sub-registrar in each subdivision. The number of documents registered is, however, very small, and in 1903 only amounted to 377; a fact which shows in a very striking manner, how extremely simple is the economic organisation of Darrang.

**Volunteer-ing.**

A corps of mounted infantry was first enrolled in Darrang in 1887, with a strength of 70 members. Four years later the volunteers in the four upper districts of the valley were formed into one corps known as the Assam Valley Mounted Rifles, and in 1896 the Mounted Rifles were converted into Light Horse. The strength of the corps in 1903 was 312, 72 of whom were residing in Darrang.

**Police.**

The Civil Police are in charge of a District or Assistant Superintendent of Police. The sanctioned strength consists of 2 inspectors, 16 sub-inspectors, and 221 constables. One hundred and two smooth bore Martinis are allotted to Darrang, and a reserve of men is kept up at the district and subdivisional headquarters who are armed with these weapons and are employed on guard and escort duty. Up-countrymen, Nepalese, and members of the aboriginal tribes are usually deputed to this work, though attempts are made to put all the constables through an annual

course of musketry. The district is fairly free from serious crime and rural police are not employed, such assistance as is necessary being given by the village elders or *gao-bura*. In addition to their regular duties in connection with the prevention and detection of crime, the police are required to check the returns of vital statistics, manage pounds, enquire into cases in which death has not been due to natural causes, to furnish guards and escorts, and to serve all processes in warrant cases. Table XX in the appendix shows the places at which there are investigating centres and the strength of officers and men maintained at each.

A detachment, consisting of a native officer and 33 <sup>Military Police.</sup> non-commissioned officers and men of the Lakhimpur military police battalion, is stationed at Tezpur throughout the year. For six months in the cold weather detachments, consisting of two non-commissioned officers and twelve men, are posted at Daimara and Ghagrapara in the north of Mangaldai, while from January to March the fort at Odalguri, near the gorge through which the Dhansiri leaves the hills, is occupied by 45 non-commissioned officers and men under a native officer. This post was formerly held by a detachment from the regiment in Shillong, but the health of the sepoys was injuriously affected, and in 1902 it was decided that the work should be made over to the military police. The men of the battalion are armed with Martini Henry Rifles mark IV, kukris, and bayonets.

There is a jail at Tezpur with accommodation for 226 <sup>Jails.</sup> convicts. The prisoners generally enjoy fairly good

health, and in the twenty years ending with 1900 there were only three in which the number of deaths exceeded 10 and the death rate 70 per mille.\* Convicts sentenced to hard labour are usually employed on oil pressing, bamboo and cane work, carpentry, weaving, brick making, and gardening. The jail premises cover an area of nearly two acres. Most of the wards have three walls of brick and the fourth of whole bamboos : the roof is generally of thatch. At Mangaldai there is a small jail with accommodation for 26 convicts. The prisoners are generally employed on gardening or oil pressing and are not detained in this jail for more than three months, convicts with a longer term being sent to Tezpur.

**Education.** During the first half of the nineteenth century the condition of education in Bengal was bad enough, but in Assam it was even worse. In 1835, the District Magistrate of Darrang reported that there were only three small public schools in the district and a few private schools, and described the state of education as "deplorable."† In 1847-48, there were 8 primary schools in the district. The next few years witnessed very little progress, as on the occasion of Mr. Mill's visit in 1853 there were only 9 schools of all grades. 1874-75 is the first year for which complete statistics are available, and the following abstract shows the progress of education since that year. Figures for years subsequent to 1900-01 will be found in the Appendix.

\* Death rate per mille, 1893, 119; 1894, 88; 1895, 75.

† File No. 298, Bengal, 1836, page 33.

Year.	No. of secondary schools.	Pupils.	No. of primary schools.	Pupils.	Total No. of pupils.	No. of persons in district to each pupil.	PERCENTAGE UNDER INSTRUCTION TO THOSE OF SCHOOL-GOING AGE.	
							Males	Females.
1874-75	6	315	78	1,916	2,231	106	...	...
1880-81	8	569	95	2,540	3,109	88	14·56	0·28
1890-91	6	536	126	3,013	3,549	87	14·59	0·30
1900-01	5	599	149	4,095	4,694	72	17·62	0·43

The schools of the district are divided into five distinct grades, high, middle English, middle vernacular, upper primary, and lower primary. High schools are those institutions which are recognised by the Calcutta University as capable of affording suitable preparation for the Entrance Examination. The boys are taught from their earliest stage of their education up to the Entrance course as prescribed by the University of Calcutta, but many leave school without completing the course. Till recently English was taught in all the classes. The boys in the lowest class no longer learn that language, but the standard of instruction is higher than that prevailing in lower secondary (middle) schools. English is the medium of instruction in the first four classes of high schools; in the lower classes and in other schools the vernacular is employed. The course of instruction at middle English and middle vernacular schools is the same, with the exception that English is taught in the former and not in the latter. The following are the subjects taught in the middle vernacular course : (1) Assamese, comprising literature, grammar Secondary education.

and composition, (2) history of India, (3) geography, (4) arithmetic, (5) elements of Euclid (Book I), mensuration of plane surfaces and surveying, (6) simple lessons on botany and agriculture. There are high schools at Tezpur and Mangaldai, and middle schools at Tezpur, Chutia, and Sipajhar.

Primary education is again divided into upper and lower, but the proportion of boys in upper primary schools is less than three per cent of the total number, and this class of school, like the middle vernacular, is slowly dying out. The course of study in lower primary schools includes reading, writing, dictation, simple arithmetic, and the geography of Assam. In upper primary schools the course is somewhat more advanced, and includes part of the first book of Euclid, mensuration, and a little history. The standard of instruction given still leaves much to be desired, but efforts have been recently made to improve it, by raising the rates of pay given to the masters. Fixed pay is now awarded at average rates of Rs.8 per mensem for certificated and Rs.5 per mensem for uncertificated teachers, supplemented by capitation grants at rates ranging from 3 annas to 6 annas for pupils in the three highest classes. The inspecting staff consists of two Deputy Inspectors of Schools.

The district is in the medical charge of the Civil Surgeon who is stationed at Tezpur. It contains ten dispensaries and the supervision of the work done at these institutions is one of the most important duties of the Civil Surgeon. He also acts as Superintendent of the Jail and of the

Lunatic Asylum, controls and inspects the vaccination department, and is required to visit and report on all tea gardens on which the death rate for the previous year has exceeded 7 per cent.

It has already been suggested in the chapter on population that there may be something in the climate, the sub-soil level of the water, or some other factor which for the present remains obscure, which is prejudicial to life and health, but there can be no doubt that the conditions under which the people pass their days are not conducive to a long mean duration of life. Their houses are small, dark, and ill-ventilated, and the rooms in summer must be exceedingly close and oppressive. They are built upon low mud plinths, and are in consequence extremely damp, and the inmates instead of sleeping on beds or bamboo platforms, which would cost them nothing to provide, often pass the night on a mat on the cold floor. Their attire, which is suitable enough for the warm weather, offers but a poor resistance to the cold and fogs of winter, and many lives are annually lost from diseases induced by chills, which might have been avoided by the purchase of a cheap woollen jersey. The houses are buried in groves of fruit trees and bamboos, which afford indeed a pleasant shade, but act as an effective barrier to the circulation of the air, and increase the humidity of the already over-humid atmosphere. Sanitary arrangements there are none, the rubbish is swept up into a corner and allowed to rot with masses of decaying vegetation, and the complete absence of latrines renders the neighbourhood of the village a most unsavoury place. The

Unsanitary  
character  
of villages.

water-supply is generally bad, and is drawn either from shallow holes, from rivers, or from tanks in which the villagers wash their clothes and persons. All of these are undoubtedly factors which contribute to produce a high mortality, and nearly every one of them could be eliminated.

**Vital statistics.**—Vital statistics are reported by the *gaobura* or village headmen, to the mandal of the circle ; this report being in theory submitted every second week. In practice they were received at much longer intervals as the *gaobura* was an unpaid servant of Government and not very amenable to discipline. It has recently been decided to allot to each *ganbura*  $2\frac{2}{3}$  acres of land revenue free, and it will now be possible to enforce a stricter adherence to the rules. Between 1891 and 1901, the mean recorded birth rate was 26 per mille, and the death rate 38 per mille, but neither of these rates can be accepted as correct. The statistics of age recorded at the census are, however, so unreliable, and the disturbing effect of immigrants is so great, that it is not possible to fix a normal birth and death rate for the district.

**Causes of mortality.**

	Cholera death rate per mille.	Death rate All causes, Eng- land.
1878	... 17·6	
1886	... 8·3	
1889	... 9·0	
1891	... 11·9	
1892	... 6·2	
1895	... 6·0	
1900	... 9·6	
1901		... 16·9

Fever and bowel complaints are the forms which death most often takes in Darrang, at any rate according to the official returns. These returns are, however, so inaccurate and so little reliance can be placed on the diagnosis of the reporting agency, that the figures hardly repay examination. Most fatal illnesses

are accompanied by a rise in temperature, and the villagers are in consequence very prone to ascribe every death to fever. Epidemics of cholera from time to time produce a high mortality, for though it is apparently endemic in the district, it occasionally breaks out with quite exceptional violence. The abstract in the margin shows the recorded death rate from this cause in the years when cholera was most prevalent, and for the purposes of comparison the death rate in England from all causes in 1901 is added. In 1878, the recorded death rate from this disease alone exceeded the total death rate of England in 1901. Small-pox also appears from time to time in a virulent form. The highest death rate recorded from this cause in recent years was 3 per mille in 1899. The people do not seem to fully appreciate the advantages conferred by vaccination, and during the five years ending with 1902-03, only 33 per mille were on the average annually protected which was 11 per mille less than the average for the Province as a whole. Dysentery and diarrhoea are common, and so are worms and various forms of skin disease. Goitre is common in villages situated on the banks of rivers, near the point at which they issue from the hills ; elephantiasis is rare. Venereal disease is common amongst the immigrant population, but not amongst the Assamese.

The most deadly lethal agent in the district has, however, been the mysterious form of fever known as *kala-azar*. The following account of this disease is extracted from the Report on the Census of Assam in 1901.

"When first referred to in the Sanitary Reports of the province, it is described as an intense form of malarial poisoning, which was popularly supposed to be contagious. The Civil Surgeon of Goalpara, however, rejected the theory of contagion, and in 1884 expressed the opinion that *kala-azar* was simply a local name for malarial fever and its consequences. In 1889-90 a specialist (Surgeon-Captain Giles) was appointed to investigate both *kala-azar* and the so-called *beri-beri* of coolies, and he rapidly came to the conclusion that *kala-azar* and *beri-beri* were merely different names for *ankylostomiasis*, and that the mortality was due to the ravages of the *dochmias duodenalis*, a worm which lives in the small intestine. This theory corresponded with the observed facts to the extent that it admitted, what at that stage of the enquiry could hardly be denied, that *kala-azar* was communicable, the uncleanly habits of the natives of the province affording every facility for the transfer of the ova of the parasite from the sick to the healthy; but the support which was given to Dr. Giles' views by local medical opinion was withdrawn when Major Dobson proved by a series of experiments that *ankylostoma* were present in varying numbers in no less than 620 out of 797 healthy persons examined by him. In 1896, Captain Rogers was placed on special duty to make further investigations, and, in addition to demonstrating various differences of a more or less technical character in the symptomatology of the two diseases, he pointed out that, whereas *kula-azar* was extremely inimical to life, the number of cases of *ankylostomiasis* that terminated fatally was by no means large. The conclusion to which this specialist came, after a very careful enquiry, was that the original view was correct, and that *kala-azar* was nothing but a very intense form of malarial fever, which could be communicated from the sick to the healthy, an opinion which was to a great extent endorsed by the profession in Assam, successive Principal Medical Officers declaring that whatever *kula-azar* was, it had been abundantly proved that it was not *ankylostomiasis*. The suggestion that malaria could be communicated did not, however, commend itself to the entire medical world, and was criticised with some severity, Dr. Giles writing as recently as 1898--'Dr. Rogers, like a medical Alexander, cuts his Gordian knot by announcing that Assamese malaria is infectious. In this he places himself at variance with not only the scientific but the popular opinion of the entire world.' A complete change in popular and scientific opinion was, however, brought about by the development of Manson's mosquito theory, and Major Ross, who visited Assam, in the course of his enquiry

into the manner in which infection by malaria takes place, confirmed Rogers' conclusions, and in 1899 placed on record his opinion that, as stated by Rogers, *kala-azar* was malarial fever. Externally the chief point of difference between *kala-azar* and ordinary malarial fever lies in the rapidity with which the former produces a condition of severe cachexia, and the ease with which it can be communicated from the sick to the healthy."

Recent investigations have, however, thrown some doubt on the malarial theory. Certain parasites called Leishman Donovan bodies have been discovered in the spleens of fever patients, and it is thought possible that they may be the causes of the complaint. The origin of the disease is obviously a matter which must always be open to doubt. Captain Rogers is of opinion that *kala-azar* was imported from Rangpur, where malarial fever was extraordinarily virulent in the early seventies, but this is still a matter of conjecture. As to its effects there can unhappily be no question.

The disease appears to have entered the Mangaldai

	Popula-	Percenta-
	tion 1891.	tion variation
		between
		1891 and
		1901.
Mangaldai tahsil...	36,152	-21
Patharughat "	45,821	-21
Kalaigaon "	55,691	-6
Ambagaon mauza...	5,794	-21
Harisinga "	5,660	-14

subdivision in 1890 and was especially virulent in the Patharughat, Mangaldai, and Kalaigaon tahsils and in the Ambagaon and Harisinga mauzas near the

Bhutan Hills. The statement in the margin shows the percentage of decrease in population that occurred in these areas between 1891 and 1901.

It has also appeared near Tezpur and Bishnath, but has not as yet produced a very high mortality in this portion of the district, though it is still fairly common in many places in Darrang.

**Increase in facilities for obtaining medical aid.**

	Dispensaries	Patients treated.
	No.	No.
1881	2	3,988
1891	2	12,191
1901	10	59,783

Though there can be little doubt that many lives are annually lost which could be saved by proper treatment, it is satisfactory to know that of recent years there has been a great increase in the facilities for obtaining medical aid, and the extent to which the people avail themselves of the advantages now offered to them. From the statement in the margin it appears that for every patient treated in 1881 there were 15 in 1901, while the number of operations performed rose from 176 to 487. The principal dispensaries are those situated at Tezpur, Mangaldai, and Sipajhar which had in 1903 a daily average attendance ranging from 59 to 62. The diseases for which treatment is most commonly applied are malarial fevers, worms, cutaneous disorders, dysentery and diarrhoea, dyspepsia, and rheumatic affections.

The number of patients treated at each dispensary in 1900 and the succeeding years will be found in Table XXV.

There are very few professional midwives amongst the Assamese, and a woman in her confinement is generally attended by her relatives or friends. In difficult cases they can render little help, and recourse is had to Heaven for assistance. A goat or duck is sacrificed, and *mantras* are tied round the neck and arm of the woman or inscribed on a brass vessel which is placed where her eyes can fall upon it. In cases of false presentation attempts are made to drag the child out by anything that offers, and

the abdomen is kneaded in the hope that the foetus may be expelled. In the absence of medical aid, and this aid is seldom to be obtained, the mother in such cases generally dies. The confinement sometimes takes place in a small hut which has been specially constructed for the purpose and the patient's bed generally consists of an old mat laid on the floor. The unfortunate mother receives practically no assistance ; if the labour is a natural one, all is well, but if complications arise, the case has usually a fatal termination. Many lives are also lost owing to a disregard of the rules of cleanliness which are of such paramount importance in these cases.

There is a lunatic asylum at Tezpur to which insane *Lunatic Asylum.* persons are sent from the Assam Valley and the Hill districts. The population in 1903 was 155, and the average cost of maintaining each of the inmates was Rs. 55. The grounds are tastefully laid out, and those of the patients who are not suffering from insanity in an acute and dangerous form are employed in the garden attached to the asylum and encouraged to do light work of other kinds.

A professional revenue survey of the district was made *Survey.* at the time when Assam was still a division of Bengal and the maps were published in 1877. They are on the scale of one mile to the inch, and show the sites of villages and the physical features of the district. A smaller map on the scale of four miles to the inch was published in 1882 and was brought up to date in 1901.

An area of 857 square miles which included the more densely populated portions of the district was cadastrally surveyed in the seasons of 1886-87 and 1891-92. The maps are on the scale of 16 inches to the mile, and in addition to topographical features show the boundaries of each field. Certain areas which were omitted by the professional party were subsequently surveyed by local agency, on the basis of a theodolite traverse, and the results obtained have been utilized in the revision of the one inch maps.\*

\* The area so surveyed up to 30th September 1900 was 130 square miles.



## APPENDIX.

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सत्यमेव जयते



सत्यमेव जयते

## STATEMENT A.

## STATEMENT A.

*List of tea gardens.*

Name of garden.	Name of owners or Company to which it belongs.	Mauza in which situated.	Approximate distance by road from subdivisional head-quarters.	Area on 31st December 1903.	Area under tea (both mature and immature) on 31st December 1903.	Labour force on 30th June 1904.	Remarks.
TEZPUR SUB-DIVISION. 1. Aberdeen ...	Mr. W. Penny ...	Bishnath ...	Miles.	Acres.	Acres.	Included in Sako-mati.	
2. Adabari ...	British Assam Tea Co., Ltd. ...	Balipara ...	15	2,075	804	1,028	Col. 6 includes figure for New Adabari.
3. Balipara ...	Do. do. ...	Do. ...	18	957	475	657	
4. Bangnon ...	Bangaon Tea Co. ...	Do. ...	16	948	580	1,109	
5. Barbheet ...	Messrs. A. Levick, R. E. Chichester and R. B. Magor.	Behali ...	45	1,125	285	528	
6. Bargang ...	Bargang Tea Co., Ltd. ...	Do. ...	46	1,455	565	2,307	Col. 7 includes figure for Ketela.

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7.	Barjuli ...	Empire of India and Ceylon Tea Co., Ltd.	Bansbari...	19	3,250	1,932	4,473
8.	Barpukhuri	Barpukhuri Tea Co., Ltd.	Bishnath ...	24	1,710	497	1,277
9.	Bedetti ...	Majuli Tea Co., Ltd.	Behali ...	45	393	783	482
10.	Beholi ...	Do.	Do.	43	1,829	1,183	
11.	Belsiri ...	Charduar Tea Co., Ltd.	Barchola...	25	457	280	706
12.	Bheer ...	Majuli Tea Co., Ltd.	Bishnath...	26	284	Included in Majuli. 1,006	87
13.	Bindukuri,	Bengal United Tea Co., Ltd.	Haleswar,	9	1,582	1,253	Col. 6 in- cludes figures for Gogra and Haleswar.
14.	Charduar...	Charduar Tea Co., Ltd.	Bargaon ...	18	1,053	421	1,099
15.	Debapar ...	Babus Girish Chandra De and Dhananjay De.	Haleswar ...	3	425	93	79
16.	Dhekiajuli.	Dhekiajuli Tea Co., Ltd.	Barchola ...	23	1,039	378	708
17.	Dhendai ...	Messrs. A. B. Moore, A. B. Thom, G. D. Paton, T. Briscoe and Col. D. M. Lumsden.	Bansbari...	22	1,466	678	1,371
18.	Dikrai ...	Bishnath Tea Co., Ltd.	Nagasankai	20	2,787	1,051	1,923
19.	Diplonga...	Do.	Ghatia ...	24	2,535	Included in Pratapgarhi	...
20.	Dulapadang	Empire of India and Ceylon Tea Co., Ltd.	Bansbari ...	16	2,560	791	1,521

## STATEMENT A.

## STATEMENT A.

## List of tea gardens—(contd.)

Name of garden.	Name of owners or Company to which it belongs.	Mauza in which situated.	Approximate distance by road from sub-divisional headquarters.	Area on 31st December 1903.	Area under tea (both mature and immature) on 30th June 1904.	Labour force on 30th June 1904.	Remarks.			
								1	2	3
<b>TEZPUR SUB-DIVISION —(contd.)</b>										
21. Gehating	Gelinating Tea Co., Ltd.	Chilabanda...	Chilabanda	19	1,881	385	761			
22. Ghiladhar	Majuli Tea Co., Ltd.	Chutia ...	Chutia ...	26	1,566	Included in Majuligarh.	1,030			
23. Ghoirai ...	Messrs. T. J. Walker, F. L. H. Koch and Dr. Warburton.	Bansbari...	Bansbari...	20	1,775	450	646			
24. Gijijabheel	Ginjabheel Tea Syndicate	Baghmara...	Baghmara	34	1,247	494	775			
25. Gogra ...	Bengal United Tea Co., Ltd.	Bansbari...	Bansbari...	11	2,044	Included in Bindukuri	336			
26. Haleswar...	Do.	do.	Haleswar...	10	697	Do.	327			

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27. Hanchara ..	Bhareli Tea Co., Ltd.	***	Balipara ...	17	1,255	Included in Thekrajuli.
28. Hathibari ..	Anglo-American Direct Tea Trading Co., Ltd.	Tea	Do. ...	19	1,662	766 970 Cols. 6 and 7 included in Col. 6 figures for Paisajuli.
29. Kachariagou	Messrs. A. Y. Thomson, G. F. Moore, A. B. Moore, G. A. Dolby and G. D. Paton.	Do. ...	19	958	500 796	
30. Kalapani ..	Majuli Tea Co., Ltd.	...	Baghmara	28	2,660	Included in 1,323
31. Kathalguri	H. W. Bruce, Mrs. Eliza Campbell, Mrs. Henderson Kay, Mrs. Walker and Mrs. H. Moore.	Haleswar ...	Mijika,	10	1,087	792 1,017 Col. 6 includes figure for Rupajuli.
32. Ketala ...	Bargang Tea Co., Ltd.	...	Benali ...	44	1,352	554 Included in Bargang.
33. Kolony ...	Anglo-American Direct Tea Trading Co., Ltd.	Balipara ...	21	684	623 859	
34. Korsontola	Bishnath Tea Co., Ltd.	Barbhaga ...	Barbhaga	16	269	Included in Pratapgarh.
35. Majuligarh	Majuli Tea Co., Ltd.	... Bishnath ...	Bishnath ...	23	1,696	1,038 2,100 Col. 6 includes figure for Ghilladhar.
G. Mijika ...	Do. do.	...	Baghmara	27	1,906	1,423 1,714 Col. 6 includes figure for Kalapani.
37. Modopi ...	Darrang Tea Co., Ltd.	...	Haleswar...	9	956	515 973
38. Monabari ..	Imperial Tea Co., Ltd.	...	Baghmara...	36	2,876	1,011 1,713
39. Monai ...	National Tea Co., Ltd.	... Nagasankar	Balipara ...	23	3,051	455 1,075
40. Naharani...	Anglo-American Direct Tea Trading Co., Ltd.		Balipara ...	20	1,884	799 1,433

## STATEMENT A.

## STATEMENT A.

*List of tea gardens—(contd.)*

Name of garden.	Name of owners or Company to which it belongs.	Mauza in which situated.	Approximate distance by road from subdivisional head-quarters.	Area on 31st December 1903.	Area under tea (both mature and immature) on 31st December 1903.	Labour force on 30th June 1904.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
SANTHAN JYOTI							
TEZPUR SUB-DIVISION— (contd.)							
41. Namigon ...	Empire of India and Ceylon Tea Co., Ltd.	Balipara ...	Miles.	Acres.	Acres.		
42. New Adabari	British Assam Tea Co., Ltd.	Do. ...	17	913	639	1,334	
43. Pabhoi ...	Rishnath Tea Co., Ltd.	Rishnath ...	17	1,442	Included in Adabari.	402	
44. Paisajuli ...	Anglo-American Direct Tea Trading Co., Ltd.	Balipara ...	27	2,075	437	862	Included in Hathibari.
45. Panipota ...	Bhareli Tea Co., Ltd.	Balipara...	18	49			Included in Phulbari.
			22	2,440			

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46.	Pratapgarh,	Bishnath Tea Co., Ld.	... Bishnath...	21	1,688	890	2,087	Cols. 6 and 7 include figures for Dipionga, Korsootola and Sadharu.
47.	Phulbari ...	Bhateli Tea Co., Ld.	... Palpara ...	21	1,530	1,327	2,038	Cols. 6 and 7 include figures for Banjota.
48.	Rangaghar	Mr. G. Chisholm ...	Behali ...	49	1,602	300	581	
49.	Rupajuli ...	H. W. Bruce, Mrs. Eliza Campbell, Mrs. Henderson Ray, Mrs. Walker and Mrs. H. Moore.	Bansbari...	12	990	Included in Kathaguri.	506	
50.	Sadharu ...	Bishnath Tea Co., Ld.	Bishnath ...	24	649	Included in Pratapgarh		
51.	Sadharu S. Sakomati Tea Co., Ld. Ghope.	Do. do.	Do. ...	24	1,055	Included in Sakomati	1,532	Col. 7 includes figures for Sakomati.
52.	Sakomati ...	Do. do.	Bishnath...	23	702	964	Included in Sadharu	Col. 6 includes figures for Aberdeen Ghope.
53.	Sesa ...	Empire of India and Ceylon Tea Co., Ld.	Haleawar...	13	1,398	465	937	
54.	Singli ...	Messrs. W. N. Edwards & A. Glass, and F. H. Edwards.	Behali ...	56	827	509	1,141	
55.	Singri ...	Estate of the late Mr. G. W. S. Browne.	Barchola...	27	566	240	184	

## STATEMENT A.

## STATEMENT A.

List of tea gardens—(contd.)

Name of garden.	Name of owners or Company to which it belongs.	Mauza in which situated.	Approximate distance by road from subdivisional head-quarters.	Area on 31st December 1903.	Area under tea (both mature and immature) on 31st December 1903.	Labour force on 30th June 1904.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>TEZPUR SUB-DIVISION— (enclosed.)</b>							
36. Solabari ...	Sonabheet Tea Co., Ltd.	Haleswar.	9	993	{ 461	746	
57. Sonabheet.	Do. do. ...	Do. ...	9	850			
58. Sonajuli ...	Empire of India and Ceylon Tea Co., Ltd.	Bansbari...	21	2,349	1,160	2,274	
59. Tarajuli ...	Imperial Tea Co., Ltd.	Do. ...	22	1,198	695	1,197	
60. Thakurbari,	Empire of India and Ceylon Tea Co., Ltd.	Do. ...	19	1,015	Included in Barjuli.		
61. Thekrajuli,	Bharel Tea Co., Ltd.	Batipara ...	17	1,714	333	787	Cols. 6 and 7 include figures for Hanchara.

## STATEMENT A.

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MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION.							
1. Atharikhat	Atharikhat Tea Co., Ltd.	... Sekhar ...	30	6,031	1,185	2,727	
2. Bangalagari	Messrs. Bridge Brothers	Bangalagari	2½	126	120	231	
3. Barrongajali	Atharikhat Tea Co., Ltd.	Sekhar ...	26	1,569	300	561	
4. Bhergaon...	Do.	Kalitakuchi	37	410	226	411	
5. Bhutiachang	Bhutiachang Tea Co., Ltd.	Jhapatbari	32	2,212	881	1,463	
6. Bongong ...	Messrs. T. J. Walker and J. Walker.	Silaiknchi	18	354	Included in Kanthali.	145.	
7. Dimakuchi	Dimakuchi Tea Co., Ltd.	Sekhar ...	30	1,510	467	416	
8. Ghagrapara	Logan Bros.	Harisinga	25	1,308	278	784	
9. Gronland...	Messrs. Bridge Brothers	Samabari and Chapai	14	3,024	Included in Singramari	546	
10. Hatigar ...	Consolidated Tea and Lands Co., Jhapatbari	Jhapatbari	25	7,562	2,721	2,660	Cols. 5, 6 & 7 include figures for Khoira bari and Majuli.
11. Kaupati ...	Messrs. Bridge Brothers	Dalgaon ...	18	2,156	324	649	
12. Kherkheria	Logan Bros.	Harisinga	32	1,352	367	1,002	
13. Khoirabari	Consolidated Tea and Lands Co.	Jhapatbari	28	Included in Hatigar.			

## STATEMENT A.

## STATEMENT A.

## List of tea gardens—(concl.)

Name of garden.	Name of owners or Company to which it belongs.	Mauza in which situated.	Approximate distance by road from subdivisional head-quarters.	Area on 31st December 1903.	Area under tea (both mature and immature) on 31st December 1903.	Labour force on 31st June 1904.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION—(cont'd.)</b>							
14. Kobirali ...	Messrs. Bridge Brothers	... Silpota and Petuachubri.	18	233	Included in Singramari		
15. Kunderbil... 16. Majbat ...	Logan Bros. Messrs. Bridge Brothers	... Ambagaon	35	654	337	586	
17. Majuli ...	Consolidated Tea and Lands Co.	Orang ... Jhaparabari	42 29	1,172 Included in Batigar.	420	703	
18. Orangajuli	Assam Duars Tea Co.	Sekhar ...	34	5,192	710	1,199	
19. Panbari ...	Messrs. Bridge Brothers	Sambari...	16	2,935	Included in Singramari.	245	

**STATEMENT A.**

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20.	Paneri or K. subhi.	Atharikhata Tea Co., Id.	... Jhappabari	5,331	717	2,517
21.	Ranthali ...	Messrs. T. J. Walker and J. Walker.	... Ranthali ...	13	3,632	563
22.	Rowta ...	Messrs. King Hamilton and Co.,	Orang ...	32	727	280
23.	Rupatal ...	Messrs. Bridge Brothers	Dalgon ...	14	384	Included in Singramari
24.	Singramari	Do.	do.	Kalaigaon	11	1,426
25.	Tangari ...	Do.	do.	Dhul'a ...	7	530
26.	Toktokata	Messrs. T. J. Walker and J. Walker.	... Dalgon ...	Dalton ...	17	250
						Included in Ranthali.

## STATEMENT B.

*List of Post Offices.*

Post office.				Mauza or tahsil in which situated.
Balipara *	...	...	...	Balipara mauza.
Barjuli *	...	...	...	Tezpur tahsil.
Behali *	...	...	...	Behali mauza.
Bindukuri *	...	...	...	Tezpur tahsil.
Bishnathghat *	...	...	...	Chutia tahsil.
Charali *	...	...	...	Do.
Chutia *	...	...	...	Do.
Dhekiajuli *	...	...	...	Barchola mauza.
Gohpur	...	...	...	Gohpur mauza.
Helem	...	...	...	Behali mauza.
Jamugurihat	...	...	...	Chutia tahsil
Kalaigaon *	...	...	...	Kalaigaon tahsil.
Mangaldai *	...	...	...	Mangaldai tahsil.
Odalguri	...	...	...	Barsilajhar mauza.
Orang	...	...	...	Orang mauza.
Paneribat *	..	...	...	Bengbari mauza.
Patharughat	...	...	...	Patharughat tahsil.
Rangamatighat *	...	...	...	Mangaldai tahsil.
Singribarighat	...	...	...	Kalaigaon tahsil.
Tezpur	...	...	...	Tezpur town.
Thakurbari	...	...	...	Falipara mauza.

\* Combined post and telegraph office.

There is also a departmental telegraph office at Tezpur.

## STATEMENT C.

*List of the most important trading villages.*

Tahsil or mauza,	Village,	No. of permanent shops.	Tahsil or mauza,	Village,	No. of permanent shops.
<i>Tezpur Subdivision.</i>			Barchola mauza	Dhekiajulgaon Singimari ...	7 3
Gohpur mauza	Gohpur ...	3	<i>Mangaldai Subdivision.</i>		
	Kalabari ...	3			
	Kalangpur ...	7			
Behali Do.	Bishanathia Dom-gaon ...	3	Oeang mauza	Saikiachubri	3
Chutia tahsil	Jalukbari ...	5			
	Bamgaon (Charali)	5	Harisinga mauza,	Bengbari ...	3
	Charaijonia ...	3		Ghagrapara...	3
	Itakhali ...	4			
	Madhab Barmapur	3	Mangaldai tahsil.	Ahokachubri	4
	Malorgaon ...	3		Asang ...	4
	Nij Barbhagia (Jamguri).	3		Baina Ojhapara	3
	Nij Bishnath ...	4		Bheborghat	3
	Rangamati ...	3		Bhokeli Mar-dal.	5
				Chengeliapara Chota Athiabari.	3 3
				Kamaipara ... Mangaldai town.	5
				Nij Rangamati	3
Balipara mauza	Amarabari ...	3			
	Balipara ...	4	Patharughat tahsil.	Chengpara ...	3
	Rangapara ...	5	Ralaigaoon tahsil.	Kalaigaon ...	4
Tezpur tahsil	Haleswar ...	3	Jhapharabari mauza.	Panerigrant...	7
	Tezpur town ...				

## STATEMENT D.

**STATEMENT D.**  
*List of markets.*

Taluk or mauza.	Name of place at which market held.	Days of week when held.	Taluk or mauza.	Name of place at which market held.	Days of week when held.
<b>TEZPUR SUBDIVISION.</b>					
Behali mauza	Amtala ...	... Sunday ...	Orang mauza	Majent garden hat at Namati.	Wednesday.
	Bebali bagan	... Do. ...	Orang	... Monday.	...
	Bebali hat	... Do. ...	Rosita	... Tuesday.	...
	Jaintia hat	... Do. ...	Lalgaoon mauza	... Sunday.	...
	Ketelakhelmati	... Do.	BarslaJhar mauza	... Monday and Friday.	...
Chutia taluk	Barpokhuri	Friday ...	Ambagaon mauza	Dimarguri	Monday.
	Charali	... Sunday	Do.	... Do.	...
	Chutia	... Do.	Harisinga mauza	Ghagrapara	...
	Ithakali	... Do.	Do.	Do.	...

## STATEMENT D.

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			Silpotā mauza		Puthimari		Saturday.
Jamuguri	...	Do.	...	...	Barbagicha	...	Sunday.
Majuli garh	...	Wednesday.	Samabari mauza	...	Bangatalgarh	...	Friday.
Pabhoi	...	Tuesday ...	Mangaldai tahsil	...	Mangaldai town	...	Every day.
Amaribari	...	Sunday ...	Do.	...	Tangonijhar	...	Saturday.
Bargaon	...	Do.	...	Patharughat tahsil,	Patharughat	...	Thursday.
Barjuli	...	Do.	...	Kaligaon tah	Kahimula	...	Friday.
Bindukuri	...	Monday and	...	...	Kalaigaon	...	Sunday.
Dipota hat	...	Thursday.	Sunday and	...	Khairabari	...	Saturday.
Garoimari	...	Wednesday.	Wednesday.	...	Rotahi	...	Do.
Saraka hat	...	Sunday ...	...	...	Puskia	...	D.
Tenzur bazar	...	Every day.	...	Jhapharbari mauza	Panerī grant	...	Sunday.
Ulubari hat	...	Do.	...	Selkar mauza	Singribari	...	Do.
Dhekiajuli	...						
Bargaon mauza	...						
Barchola mauza	...						

## STATEMENT E.

*List of fairs.*

Mauza.	Village.
<b>MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION.</b>	
Bangalagarh	Bamunpara.
"	Kurapara.
Chapara	Kumarpara.
Dipila	Alikakh.
Hindughopa	Ghopa.
Kalitakuchi	Mahia.
Silpota	Puthimari.
Sipajhar	Bhuktabari.
Nij Odalguri	Odalguri.
Lokrai	Bejpara.

TABLE I.

*Average maximum and minimum temperatures registered at Teepur town.*

Year.	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	Year.
Maximum temperature	... 71°7	76°1	82°5	83°2	86°0	88°0	89°8	87°8	87°4	84°9	78°7	72°7	82°4
Minimum temperature	... 51°0	54°8	62°2	66°9	72°1	76°2	77°7	77°6	76°2	70°9	61°4	52°9	66°7

*Note.—The figures have been compiled on the basis for three years.*

TABLE II.

TABLE II.

*Rainfall.*

The number of years for which the average has been calculated is shown in brackets against the name of each station.

Months.	AVERAGE RAINFALL IN INCHES.					
	Kherkheria (15 years).	Balipara (9 years).	Gobpur (13 years).	Mangaldai (29 years).	Rabira (17 years).	Tezpur (45 years).
January	1.14	0.81	0.82	0.66	0.64	0.59
February	1.06	0.88	1.26	0.83	0.86	0.90
March	2.51	2.83	3.26	3.43	2.62	2.43
April	6.41	5.84	8.97	7.06	6.62	6.08
May	14.90	12.13	14.43	10.64	11.26	9.68
June	21.80	14.28	14.94	12.86	14.48	12.69
July	21.04	17.02	20.11	12.01	11.57	14.33
August	14.62	16.37	17.93	10.88	9.09	12.84
September	12.64	12.00	15.58	7.17	5.78	8.96
October	4.57	6.99	5.29	3.87	2.45	3.36
November	0.85	0.29	0.87	0.36	0.14	0.72
December	1.03	0.61	0.68	0.32	0.40	0.50
Total of year	102.57	90.05	104.14	69.59	65.91	73.08

TABLE III.

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TABLE III.  
*Distribution of population.*

Tahsil or mauza.	Population in 1901.	Population in 1891.	Difference.	Area in square miles.	Population per square mile.	Number of persons censused on tea gardens.
Tezpur tahsil ...	57,441	41,977	+15,464	307.69	186	20,944
Chutia do. ...	49,692	36,810	+12,882	598.60	83	17,582
Balipara ...	18,456	13,671	+4,785	182.27	101	11,330
Bargaon ...	16,738	10,777	+4,961	444.08	35	2,244
Gohpur ...	25,406	16,255	+9,151	508.22	49	5,799
Mangaldai tahsil ...	28,475	36,152	-7,677	175.62	162	834
Kalaigaon do. ...	52,160	55,691	-3,531	254.04	205	3,545
Patharughat do. ...	36,177	45,821	-9,644	168.23	215	...
Sekhar ...	11,010	7,687	+3,323	130.96	84	5,688
Jhapatabarri ...	9,902	6,034	+3,868	62.63	158	6,678
Harisinga ...	4,873	5,660	-787	26.18	186	2,429
Ambagaon ...	4,561	5,794	-1,233	35.41	128	735
Sonaigaon ...	1,374	2,064	-690	65.63	20	...
Barsilajhar ...	4,240	4,239	+1	36.75	115	...
Petuachubri ...	4,143	3,860	+283	29.99	138	4
Bangapani ...	2,340	3,319	-979	51.81	45	...
Dalgaon ...	5,543	5,482	+61	208.93	26	718
Orang ...	5,782	6,147	-365	130.78	44	1,003
Total district ...	337,313	307,440	+29,873	3,471.82	99	79,513

NOTE.—Where not otherwise stated a unit should be taken to represent a mauza.

TABLE IV.

TABLE IV.  
*General statistics of population.*

TABLE IV.

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<b>Other Vaishnavas</b>	...	...	11,384	9,308	24,911	25,837	<b>36,295</b>	<b>35,075</b>
Saktists	...	...	15,343	13,069	8,819	7,770	<b>24,162</b>	<b>20,839</b>
Sivaites	...	...	820	655	120	61	<b>940</b>	<b>716</b>
Muhammadans	...	...	2,879	1,574	6,445	6,374	<b>9,424</b>	<b>7,948</b>
Animistic	...	...	7,910	6,853	31,857	31,838	<b>39,767</b>	<b>38,691</b>
Total Christians	...	...	515	382	235	226	<b>750</b>	<b>608</b>
Anglican Communion	...	...	279	214	154	152	<b>433</b>	<b>366</b>
Minor denominations	...	...	107	93	67	47	<b>174</b>	<b>140</b>
Other religions	...	...	313	69	377	48	<b>690</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>CIVIL CONDITION—Unmarried</b>	...	...	44,141	32,308	46,272	35,158	<b>90,413</b>	<b>67,466</b>
Married	...	...	37,886	34,133	34,778	34,196	<b>72,664</b>	<b>68,329</b>
Widowed	...	...	7,460	10,805	5,493	14,683	<b>12,953</b>	<b>25,498</b>
<b>LITERACY—Literate in Assamese</b>	...	...	3,413	183	2,435	57	<b>5,848</b>	<b>240</b>
Literate in English	...	...	899	50	258	6	<b>1,157</b>	<b>56</b>
Illiterate	...	...	83,441	76,860	83,512	83,949	<b>166,953</b>	<b>160,809</b>
<b>LANGUAGES SPOKEN—Assamese</b>	...	...	36,018	31,346	52,000	52,030	<b>88,018</b>	<b>83,376</b>
Eastern Hindi	...	...	4,407	3,370	2,854	1,518	<b>7,261</b>	<b>4,888</b>
Bengali	...	...	27,170	25,615	5,413	4,609	<b>32,583</b>	<b>30,224</b>
Wodo or Plains Kachari	...	...	4,424	3,383	23,213	23,983	<b>27,637</b>	<b>27,366</b>

The Orang mauza, which in 1891 contained a population of 6,117 persons, was transferred from Tezpur to Mungaldai in 1891 and two villages with a population of 321 persons were transferred from Mungaldai to Nongrong in 1891. Necessary adjustments have been made.

TABLE V.

*Birth place, race, caste, and occupation.*

TABLE V.

	TEZPUR SUBDIVISION.		MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION.		TOTAL DISTRICT.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
<b>BIRTH PLACE.—Born in the district</b>						
" other parts of Province	45,132	42,304	74,245	75,169	119,377	117,473
" Chota Nagpur	6,970	2,914	3,709	2,121	10,679	5,035
" other parts of Bengal	17,923	17,593	3,38	2,983	21,061	20,476
" United Provinces	7,387	5,384	2,920	1,677	9,707	7,011
" Central Provinces	1,018	670	347	331	1,365	1,001
" Nepal	5,112	4,873	1,178	1,046	6,290	5,359
" Elsewhere	3,415	1,173	562	180	2,977	1,353
	3,530	2,385	1,044	590	4,574	2,975
<b>RACE AND CASTE.—</b>						
Bunia	2,348	2,481	222	205	2,570	2,686
Boria	1,722	1,702	152	210	1,874	1,912
Brahman	2,310	1,747	1,294	1,051	3,634	2,798
Eurasian	14	12	...	1	14	13
European (a)	128	39	33	3	161	42
Ganak	182	257	2,781	3,026	2,963	3,283
Jugi	3,961	3,687	4,581	4,821	8,542	8,508
Kachari	6,480	4,890	26,942	24,914	33,422	29,804
Kalita	5,936	4,116	3,794	4,030	9,690	8,146

TABLE V.

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(a) Includes allied races.

TABLE VI.

TABLE VI.

*Vital statistics.*

Year.	Population under registration in 1901.	Ratio of births per mille.	Ratio of deaths per mille.	RATIO OF DEATHS PER MILLE FROM			
				Cholera.	Small- pox.	Fever.	Bowel com- plaints.
1901	337,313	31.35	35.19	1.01	0.54	23.89	3.91
1902	Do.	33.54	35.72	0.73	0.08	25.71	3.06
1903	Do.	35.26	38.10	3.76	0.09	24.90	2.77
1904	Do.	34.31	33.22	0.77	0.58	22.87	2.63
1905							
1906							
1907							
1908							
1909							
1910							
1911							
1912							

TABLE VII.

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TABLE VII.  
Crop statistics.

Particulars.	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Total cropped area...	282,698	300,601	310,115	309,062								
Rice	187,085	202,295	207,901	211,632								
Mustard	...	9,601	12,664	14,427	14,462							
Sugarcane	...	1,788	2,499	2,462	2,261							
Pulse	...	10,970	11,853	12,465	11,510							
All other crops	...	73,255	71,290	72,860	69,187							
TEA.	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907	1907
TEZPUR SUBDIVISION,												
Number of gardens,	64	62	61	61								
Area in acres	88,590	88,870	91,084	90,173								
Area under plant in	29,538	30,043	28,821	29,004								
acres.												
Ottarn in lbs.	10,364,763	11,624,372	11,829,148	11,450,280								
Labour force	...	40,355	37,828	38,814								
Labourers including dependents imported during the year.*	2,862	...	4,238	2,634								

\* Figures for 1903 and subsequent years relate to period from 1st July to 30th June.

TABLE VII.

TABLE VII.  
Crop statistics—(concl.)

Particulars,	1906	1907	1908	1909	1910	1911	1912
<b>TEA.</b>							
MANGALDAI SUB-DIVISION.							
Number of gardens,							
Area in acres	33	33	26	26	26	26	26
Area under plant in acres	49,239	52,163	50,181	51,552	51,552	51,552	51,552
Outturn in lbs. ...	11,199	12,053	11,676	10,940	10,940	10,940	10,940
Labour force ...							
Labourers including dependents imported during the year.*	1,258	3,078,316	4,099,798	3,954,120	4,231,883	4,231,883	4,231,883
Total District.							
Number of gardens,							
Area in acres	97	95	87	87	87	87	87
Area under plant in acres	137,829	141,033	141,263	141,263	141,263	141,263	141,263
Held by Europeans	39,772	41,479	39,949	39,949	39,949	39,949	39,949
Held by natives							
Outturn in lbs. ...	665	617	548	548	548	548	548
Labour force ...							
Labourers including dependents imported during the year.*	13,943,079	15,724,170	15,783,287	15,783,287	15,783,287	15,783,287	15,783,287
	53,563	54,731	49,721	49,721	49,721	49,721	49,721
	4,120	...	5,329	5,329	5,329	5,329	5,329

\* Figures for 1906 and subsequent years relate to period from 1st July to 30th June.

TABLE VIII.  
*Reserved Forests.*

TABLE VIII.

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Name of Reserve.	Area in square miles.	RECEIPTS.									
		1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.
Western Range.	Khalinduar	27	3,186	1,596	1,442	1,210	...	...	...	...	...
		...	2	...	...	...	92	...	...	...	...
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
		...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Central Range.	Singri hill	...	1	30	12	1	9	...	...	...	...
	Bhomoraguri	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	Garumari (205 acres)	...	...	4	49	...	50	...	...	...	...
	Chardhar	...	121	12,137	1,716	15,542	744	...	...	...	...
Eastern Range.	Balipara	...	88	8,809	1,804	2,638	2,961	...	...	...	...
	Nowduar	...	82	7,027	928	1,469	279	...	...	...	...

TABLE IX.

Details.	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.
Area under protection in sq. miles.	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36	36
Area protected in sq. miles...	:4	:4	:4	:4	:4	:4	:4	:4	:4	:4	:4
Percentage ...	94	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Cost ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...
Reserve Forests.											
Area in sq. miles...	321	321	321	321	321	321	321	321	321	321	321
Outturn (Government and purchasers only).											
Timber c. ft. ...	31,519	29,414	32,391	18,269							
Fuel c. ft. ...	10,944	11,264	20,296	22,464							
Unclassed State Forests.											
Area in sq. miles...	2,174	2,137	2,127	2,126							
Outturn (Government and purchasers only.)											
Timber c. ft. ...	51,709	53,826	55,742	47,575							
Fuel c. ft. ...	23,243	20,802	25,858	25,858							
Rubber	Rs. ...	41,818	18,563	24,102	22,319						
Forest receipts	Rs. ...	68,473	20,459	37,481	36,475						
Forest expenditure	Rs. ...	44,034	35,855	26,349	33,155						
Surplus or deficit	Rs. ...	+24,439	-15,396	+11,132	+3,320						

TABLE X.

*Prices of food staples in seers obtainable per rupee  
at selected marts.*

		TEZPUR.			MANGALDAI.		
		Common rice.	Salt.	Mati- kalai.	Common rice.	Salt.	Mati- kalai.
1880 {	2nd week of February	...	12	6½	16	...	...
	Do. do. of August	...	12	6½	12	...	...
1890 {	Do. do. of February	...	20	9	12	24	8
	Do. do. of August	...	12½	8	14	14	8
1900 {	Do. do. of February	...	16½	10	15	24	8
	Do. do. of August	...	12½	10	12	16	8
1901 {	Do. do. of February	...	12½	10	11	16	8
	Do. do. of August	...	8	9	11½	10	8
1902 {	Do. do. of February	...	14	10	13	16	8
	Do. do. of August	...	11	10	13	13	8
1903 {	Do. do. of February	...	16	11	15	29	8
	Do. do. of August	...	13	11	18	16	10½
1904 {	Do. do. of February	...	18	11	14	18	8
	Do. do. of August	...	14	11	14	16	8
1905 {	Do. do. of February	...	16	11	14	21	11
	Do. do. of August	...					16
1906 {	Do. do. of February	...					
	Do. do. of August	...					
1907 {	Do. do. of February	...					
	Do. do. of August	...					
1908 {	Do. do. of February	...					
	Do. do. of August	...					
1909 {	Do. do. February	...					
	Do. do. Auggust	...					
1910 {	Do. do. of February	...					
	Do. do. of August	...					
1911 {	Do. do. of February	...					
	Do. do. of August	...					
1912 {	Do. do. of February	...					
	Do. do. of August	...					

TABLE XL.

## TABLE

*Statistics of Criminal*

Heads of Crime.	1902.		1903.		1904.	
	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.
<b>TEZPUR SUBDIVISION.</b>						
<i>Criminal Justice.</i>						
Number of cases.						
(i) Rioting or unlawful assembly, sections 143—153, 157, 158 and 159.	28	17	10	8	19	17
(ii) Other offences against the State, public tranquillity, &c.	4	3	5	2	8	6
(iii) Murder, attempt at murder, and culpable homicide, sections 302—304, 307, 308 and 396.	3	1	3	1	3	1
(iv) Grievous hurt and hurt by dangerous weapon, sections 324—26, 329, 331, 333 and 335.	20	14	24	18	24	17
(v) Serious criminal force, sections 353, 354, 356 and 357.	5	1	1	1	1	1
(vi) Other serious offences against the person.	8	4	5	4	6	2
(vii) Dacoity, sections 395, 397 and 398	...	...	...	...	...	...
(viii) Serious mischief, including mischief by killing, poisoning or maiming any animal, sections 270, 281, 282, 428, 429, 430—433 and 435—40.	8	2	10	1	10	...
(ix) House breaking and serious house trespass, sections 449—452, 454, 455 and 457—460.	73	16	65	11	90	16
(x) Wrongful restraint and confinement, sections 341—344.	8	2	10	5	1	...

TABLE XI.

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XII.  
*and Civil Justice.*

TABLE XI.

**TABLE**  
*Statistics of Criminal*

Heads of Crime.	1902.		1903.		1904.	
	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.
<b>TEZPUR SUBDIVISION—(concl'd.)</b>						
<i>Criminal Justice.</i>						
Number of cases.						
(xi) Other serious offences against the person and property or against property.	...	...	...	...	...	...
(xii) Theft, sections 379—382	150	72	96	36	114	54
(xiii) Receiving stolen property, sections 411 and 414.	8	8	2	1	17	12
(xiv) Lurking and criminal house trespass, sections 453, 456, 447 and 448	9	5	9	7	9	8
(xv) Other minor offences against property.	10	5	3	...	5	...
Total ...	343	150	243	95	307	134
<b>MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION.</b>						
<i>Criminal Justice.</i>						
Number of cases.						
(i) Rioting or unlawful assembly, sections 143—153, 157, 158 and 159.	3	2	6	2	3	2
(ii) Other offences against the State, public tranquillity, &c.	8	3	7	3	...	...
(iii) Murder, attempt at murder, and culpable homicide, sections 302—304, 307, 308 and 306.	3	2	4	4	3	1
(iv) Grievous hurt and hurt by dangerous weapon, sections 324—326, 329, 331, 333, and 335.	13	5	11	6	11	4

TABLE XI.

XI.

*and Civil Justice*—(continued).

TABLE XI.

TABLE  
*Statistics of Criminal*

Heads of Crime.	1902.		1903.		1904.	
	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.
<b>MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION—(concl.)</b>						
<i>Criminal Justice.</i>						
Number of cases.						
(v) Serious criminal force, sections 353, 354, 356 and 357.	1	1	3	1	1	1
(vi) Other serious offences against the person.	4	1	3	1	5	1
(vii) Dacoity, sections 395, 397 and 398	...	...	...	...	...	...
(viii) Serious mischief, including mischief by killing, poisoning or maiming any animal, sections 270, 281, 282, 428, 429, 430—433 and 435—440.	11	5	6	1	12	3
(ix) House breaking and serious house trespass, section 449—452, 454, 455 and 457—460.	54	8	60	13	32	5
(x) Wrongful restraint and confinement, sections 341—344.	1	1	2	1	3	3
(xi) Other serious offences against the person and property or against property.	...	...	2	1	1	...
(xii) Theft, sections 379—382	76	31	42	17	45	19
(xiii) Receiving stolen property, sections 411 and 414.	7	6	5	5	12	12
(xiv) Lurking and criminal house trespass, sections 453, 456, 447 and 448.	7	2	2	3*	1	1
(xv) Other minor offences against property.	4	1	5	3	1	2
Total	...	192	68	158	59	51

\* One case of

TABLE XI.

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XI.

*and Civil Justice—(continued).*

1905.		1906.		1907.		1908.		1909.		1910.		1911.		1912.	
True.	Detected.														
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

previous year.

TABLE XI.

## TABLE

*Statistics of Criminal*

Heads of Crime.	1902.		1903.		1904.	
	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL.</b>						
<i>Criminal Justice.</i>						
Number of cases.						
(i) Rioting or unlawful assembly, sections 143—153, 157, 158 and 159.	31	19	16	10	22	19
(ii) Other offences against the State, public tranquillity, &c.	12	6	12	5	8	6
(iii) Murder, attempt at murder, and culpable homicide, sections 302—304, 307, 308 and 396.	6	3	7	3	6	2
(iv) Grievous hurt and hurt by dangerous weapon, sections 324—326, 329, 331, 333 and 335.	42	19	35	24	35	21
(v) Serious criminal force, sections 353, 354, 356 and 357.	6	2	4	2	2	2
(vi) Other serious offences against the person.	12	5	8	5	11	3
(vii) Dacoity, sections 395, 397 and 398	...	...	...	...	...	...
(viii) Serious mischief, including mischief by killing, poisoning or maiming any animal, sections 270, 281, 282, 428, 429, 430—433 and 435—40	19	7	16	2	22	3
(ix) House breaking and serious house trespass, sections 449—452, 454, 455 and 457—460.	127	24	125	24	122	21
(x) Wrongful restraint and confinement, sections 341—344.	9	3	12	6	4	3

TABLE XI.

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xi

*and Civil Justice—(continued).*

TABLE XI.

## TABLE

*Statistics of Criminal*

Heads of Crime.	1902.		1903.		1904.	
	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.	True.	Detected.
<b>DISTRICT TOTAL—(concl'd.)</b>						
<i>Criminal Justice.</i>						
Number of cases.						
(xi) Other serious offences against the person and property or against property.	...	...	2	1	1	...
(xii) Theft, sections 379—382	226	100		53	159	78
(xiii) Receiving stolen property, sections 411 and 414.	15	14	7	6	29	24
(xiv) Lurking and criminal house trespass, sections 453, 456, 447 and 448.	16	7	11	10	10	9
(xv) Other minor offences against property.	14	6	8	3	6	2
Total	535	218	401	154	437	188
<i>Civil Justice.</i>						
Suits for money and moveables	...	1,053		1,003		
Title and other suits	...	52		66		
Rent suits	...	36		64		
Total	...	1,141		1,133		

TABLE XI.

xii.

*and Civil Justice—(concluded).*

TABLE XII.

TABLE  
*Fluctuations in*

Proportion of fluctuating area to total

	1900-01.	1901-02	1902-03	1903-04	1904-05.
	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
<b>TEZPUR SUBDIVISION.</b>					
Settled area ... ...	194,787	200,678	208,275	214,786	
Area excluded from settlement ...	10,976	8,813	7,098	7,077	
Area included in settlement ...	13,052	13,412	15,204	15,551	
Revenue demand Rs. ... ...	3,17,106	3,25,010	3,44,167	3,55,603	
<b>MANGALDAH SUBDIVISION.</b>					
Settled area ... ...	218,926	216,548	218,552	217,315	
Area excluded from settlement ...	11,585	18,895	10,113	11,341	
Area included in settlement ...	7,605	16,474	12,435	11,020	
Revenue demand Rs. ... ...	4,01,292	3,74,964	3,79,700	3,73,640	
<b>TOTAL DISTRICT.</b>					
Settled area ... ...	413,713	417,126	426,827	432,101	
Area excluded from settlement ...	22,561	27,708	17,211	18,419	
Area included in settlement ...	20,657	29,886	27,630	26,571	
Revenue demand Rs. ... ...	7,18,398	7,02,974	7,23,876	7,29,242	

TABLE XII.

xii.

*settled area.*

settled area in 1903-04. Tezpur subdivision—5 per cent.  
 Mangaldai „ „ „ „

1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.
Acres.						

TABLE XIII.

**TABLE  
Finance**

Principal Heads.	1890-91.	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Land revenue (ordinary)	4,85,493	7,00,900	7,01,047	7,24,077	6,95,528	
" (miscellaneous)	13,507	13,751	21,644	21,661	15,343	
Provincial rates ...	36,196	51,101	50,997	52,280	50,797	
Judicial stamps ...	22,962	26,301	29,479	28,980	25,577	
Non-judicial stamps ...	5,716	6,501	6,195	6,600	6,396	
Opium ...	2,58,205	2,60,784	2,30,477	2,45,043	2,56,716	
Country spirits ...	27,308	64,424	58,587	55,966	58,433	
Ganja .. ...	11,888	16,725	15,280	16,655	18,650	
Other heads of excise ...	872	1,348	1,431	1,016	716	
Assessed taxes ...	15,271	20,279	20,820	20,417	15,654	
No. of assessees per mille	1	1	1	1	1	
Forests ... ...	29,711	68,473	20,459	37,481	36,475	
Registration... ...	592	614	473	508	577	
Total ... ...	9,07,721	12,81,221	11,56,889	12,10,684	11,80,862	

TABLE XIII.

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XIII.

*—Receipts.*

1905-06. Rs.	1906-07. Rs.	1907-08. Rs.	1908-09. Rs.	1909-10. Rs.	1910-11. Rs.	1911-12. Rs.

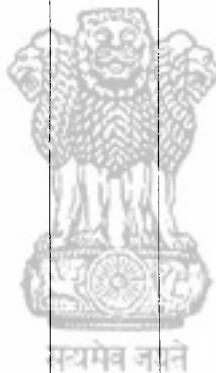


TABLE XIV.

TABLE XIV.  
*Miscellaneous land revenue.*

Particulars.	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.	1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.
<b>TRIZPUR SUBDIVISION.</b>												
Elephants	...	...	2,690	9,848	10,129	3,491						
Fisheries	...	...	5,032	5,740	6,127	6,016						
Total revenue	..	..	9,850	17,105	17,122	11,429						
<b>MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION.</b>												
Elephants	...	...	...	3,245	3,875	2,979	435					
Fisheries	...	...	...	3,901	4,539	4,539	3,947					
Total revenue	..	..	..				3,914					
<b>TOTAL DISTRICT.</b>												
Elephants	...	...	2,690	9,848	10,129	3,926						
Fisheries	...	...	8,277	9,615	9,106	9,363						
Other heads	...	...	2,784	2,181	2,426	2,054						
Total revenue	..	..	13,751	21,844	21,661	15,343						



सत्यमेव जयते

TABLE XV.

TABLE  
*Land*

Particulars.	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.
<b>TEZPUR SUBDIVISION.—</b>	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.	Acres.
Total land settled for cultivation of ordinary crops.	107,156	111,919	119,865	123,613
Held on ordinary tenure ...	103,066	107,830	115,276	119,524
Held revenue-free (lakhiraj) ...	2,209	2,209	2,209	2,209
Held at half rates (nisfi-khiraj).	1,880	1,880	1,880	1,880
Total land settled for cultivation of special staples.	86,638	87,671	87,922	90,184
Area of fee-simple and commuted grants.	27,788	27,756	27,756	27,756
Area settled under other special rules.	293	293	293	293
Area settled on 30 years' lease	50,851	51,906	52,592	54,834
Area held under ordinary rules or re-settled on expiry of 30 years' lease.	7,706	7,716	7,281	7,301
Total land settled under other tenures.	994	988	988	988
Total settled area of subdivision ...	194,787	200,578	208,275	214,786
Total unsettled area of subdivision,	1,111,453	1,105,662	1,097,965	1,091,454
<b>MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION.—</b>				
Total land settled for cultivation of ordinary crops.	168,660	166,242	168,307	165,888
Held on ordinary tenure ...	136,632	134,214	136,290	133,848
Held revenue-free (lakhiraj)	2,861	2,861	2,861	2,862
Held at half rates (nisfi-khiraj)	29,167	29,167	29,156	29,178
Total land settled for cultivation of special staples.	50,219	50,257	50,196	51,376

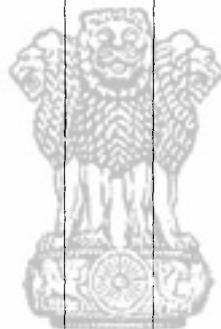
TABLE XV.

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XV

*tenures.*

1904-05.	1905-06.	1906-07.	1907-08.	1908-09.	1909-10.	1910-11.	1911-12.
Acres.							



सत्यमेव जयते

TABLE XV.

**TABLE  
*Land***

Particulars.	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.	1903-04.
	Acre.	Acre.	Acre.	Acre.
Area of fee-simple and commuted grants.	23,121	23,153	23,153	24,441
Area settled on 30 years' lease	23,179	23,180	22,932	22,931
Area held under ordinary rules or re-settled on expiry of 30 years' lease.	3,919	3,924	4,111	4,004
Total land settled under other tenures.	47	49	49	51
Total settled area of subdivision,	218,926	216,548	218,552	217,815
Total unsettled area of subdivision,	662,354	664,732	662,728	668,965
<b>TOTAL DISTRICT—</b>				
Total land settled for cultivation of ordinary crops.	275,815	278,161	287,672	289,501
Held on ordinary tenures ...	239,698	242,044	251,566	253,372
Held revenue-free (lakhiraj) ...	5,070	5,070	5,070	5,071
Held at half rates (nisfi-khiraj).	31,047	31,047	31,036	31,058
Total land settled for cultivation of special staples.	136,857	137,928	138,118	141,560
Area of fee-simple and commuted grants.	50,909	50,909	50,909	52,197
Area settled under other special rules.	293	293	293	923
Area settled on 30 years' lease	74,630	75,086	75,524	77,765
Area held under ordinary rules, or re-settled on expiry of 30 years' lease.	11,625	11,640	11,392	11,305
Total land settled under other tenures.	1,041	1,087	1,087	1,040
Total settled area of the district ...	413,713	417,126	426,827	432,101
Total unsettled area of the district	1,773,807	1,770,394	1,760,693	1,755,419



TABLE XV A.

TABLE XV A.

*Total area and unsettled area in each tahsil and mauza in 1902-03.*

	Total area.	Sq. miles	Unsettled area.	Remarks.
		Sq. miles.		
<b>TEZPUR SUBDIVISION.</b>				
Tahsils—Chutia	...	471	369	Includes 82 sq. miles of reserved forest.
Tezpur	...	253	144	Includes 21 sq. miles of reserved forest.
Mauzas—Balipara	...	182	150	Includes 122 sq. miles of reserved forest.
Barchola	...	263	250	Includes 22 sq. miles of reserved forest.
Bargaon	...	139	120	
Behali	...	267	231	
Golipur	...	214	199	
<b>MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION.</b>				
Tahsils—Kalaignon	...	248	161	
Mangaldai	...	176	123	
Patharughat	...	169	112	
Mauzas—Ambagaon	...	36	28	
Barsilajhar	...	37	31	
Dalgaon	...	203	197	
Harisinga	...	26	19	
Jhaporabari	...	63	35	Includes 10 sq. miles of reserved forest.
Orang	...	131	121	
Petuachubri	...	30	23	
Rangapani	...	52	49	
Sekhār	...	131	97	Includes 11 sq. miles of reserved forest.
Silpota	...	18	12	
Sonaigaon	...	66	64	
Samabari	...	40	24	
Tinkoria	...	10	5	

TABLE XVI.

TABLE  
Ex-

Principal heads.	1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.
<b>TEZPUR SUBDIVISION—</b>			
Number of opium shops ...	47	47	47
Amount paid for licenses ... Rs.	35,694	35,002	29,069
M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	
Opium issued ...	77 28 0	58 36 0	68 35 0
Duty on opium sold ... Rs.	88,578	67,146	76,237
Number of ganja shops ...	8	8	9
Amount paid for licenses ... Rs.	8,914	8,429	7,957
M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	
Amount of ganja issued ...	12 11 8	10 12 0	15 16 0
Duty on ganja sold ... Rs.	4,416	3,708	5,544
Number of country spirit shops ...	11	11	11
Amount paid for licenses ... Rs.	57,094	50,083	47,626
Number of distilleries ...			
Amount of liquor issued ...			
Still head duty ... Rs.			
Number of retail shops ...			
Amount paid for licenses ... Rs.			
Other heads of excise revenue ... Rs.	556	499	392
<b>MANGALDAI SUBDIVISION—</b>			
Number of opium shops ...	54	53	53
Amount paid for licenses ... Rs.	18,807	18,747	21,604
M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	
Opium issued ...	103 10 0	96 5 0	103 25 0
Duty on opium sold ... Rs.	1,17,705	1,09,582	1,18,133
Number of ganja shops ...	3	3	3
Amount paid for licenses ... Rs.	2,166	1,892	1,894
M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	
Amount of ganja issued ...	3 16 0	3 19 0	3 20 0
Duty on ganja sold ... Rs.	1,229	1,251	1,260
Number of country spirit shops ...	5	5	5
Amount paid for licenses ... Rs.	7,330	8,504	8,340
Number of distilleries ...			
Amount of liquor issued ...			
Still-head duty ... Rs.			
Number of retail shops ...			
Amount paid for licenses ... Rs.			
Other heads of excise revenue ... Rs.	792	932	624
<b>TOTAL DISTRICT.—</b>			
Number of opium shops ...	101	100	100

TABLE XVI.

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XVI.  
*cise.*

TABLE XVI.

TABLE  
Ex-

Principal heads.		1900-01.	1901-02.	1902-03.
Amount paid for licenses	... Rs.	54,501	53,749	50,673
		M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.
Opium issued	... ...	180 38 0	155 1 0	170 29 0
Duty on opium sold	... Rs.	2,06,283	1,76,728	1,94,370
Number of ganja shops...	...	11	11	12
Amount paid for licenses	... Rs.	11,080	10,321	9,851
		M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.	M. s. ch.
Amount of ganja issued	... ...	15 27 8	18 31 0	18 36 0
Duty on ganja sold	... Rs.	5,645	4,959	6,804
Number of country spirit shops	...	16	16	16
Amount paid for licenses	... Rs.	64,424	58,587	55,966
Number of distilleries	...			
Amount of liquor issued	...			
Still-head duty	... ...			
Number of retail shops	...			
Amount paid for licenses	... ...			
Other heads of excise revenue	... Rs.	1,348	1,431	1,016

TABLE XVI.

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xvi.

*cise*—(concl.)

TABLE XVII.

TABLE XVII.  
*Income and expenditure of Local Boards.*  
 Tezpur.

Sources of income.	INCOME.		Heads of expenditure.	EXPENDITURE.	
	1890-91.	1900-01.		1890-91.	1900-01.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Provincial rates ...	13,512	22,772	Post office ...	733	1,086
Police ...	4,450	6,702	Administration ...	118	118
Tolls on ferries ...	1,189	582	Education ...	4,132	6,911
Contributions ...	21,098	24,000	Medical... ...	2,827	4,706
Debt ...	...	472	Civil works ...	25,629	42,731
Miscellaneous ...	31	...	Debt ...	...	471
			Miscellaneous ...	2,045	887
Total ...	40,280	54,528	Total ...	35,484	56,910

Mangaldai.

Sources of income.	INCOME.		Heads of expenditure.	EXPENDITURE.	
	1890-91.	1900-01.		1890-91.	1900-01.
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Provincial rates ...	22,702	28,396	Post office ...	1,010	2,186
Police ...	2,298	2,683	Administration ...	120	124
Tolls on ferries ...	2,145	1,640	Education ...	5,008	7,274
Contributions ...	13,992	15,348	Medical ...	990	4,268
Debt ...	...	887	Civil works ...	23,900	37,358
Miscellaneous ...	834	103	Debt ...	...	14
			Miscellaneous ...	2,880	1,735
Total ...	41,971	49,057	Total ...	33,908	53,759

TABLE XVIII.

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**TABLE XVIII.**  
*Municipal.*  
Tezpur Municipality.

<b>Sources of income.</b>	<b>INCOME.</b>		<b>Heads of expenditure.</b>	<b>EXPENDITURE.</b>	
	<b>1894-95.</b>	<b>1900-01.</b>		<b>1894-95.</b>	<b>1900-01.</b>
	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.
Opening balance ...	176	792	Administration ...	384	1,707
Tax on houses and lands.	546	2,302	Conservancy ...	2,861	5,501
Pounds ...	2,641	2,107	Public Works ...	2,624	6,322
Fees from markets ...	2,095	3,061	Public Instruction ..	135	422
Grants from Government and local funds.	3,000	5,000	Drainage ...	328	216
Conservancy ...	336	2,127	Other heads ...	3,757	4,229
Other sources ...	1,424	3,548	Closing balance ...	129	540
Total ...	10,218	18,937	Total ...	10,218	18,937

**TABLE XIX.**  
*Strength of Police Force.*

<b>Particulars.</b>	<b>सन्यमव जयने</b>	<b>1881.</b>	<b>1891.</b>	<b>1901.</b>
<b>CIVIL POLICE.</b>				
<b>SUPERVISING STAFF.</b>				
District and Assistant Superintendent ...	..	1	1	1
Inspectors ...	..	2	2	2
<b>SUBORDINATE STAFF.</b>				
Sub-Inspectors ...	..	6	6	11
Head Constables ...	..	15	21	21
Constables ...	..	93	136	204
Total expenditure ...	...	29,385	30,446	55,584

Actual strength for 1881 and sanctioned strength for other years.

As the full sanctioned number of Sub-Inspectors was not entertained during the year 1901, only the actual number of Sub-Inspectors and Head Constables is shown for that year.

TABLE XX.

TABLE XX.

*Police Stations and Outposts in 1904.*

Name of Police Station or Outpost.	SANCTIONED STRENGTH.				Total.
	Sub-Inspector.	Head Constables.	Constables.		
Tezpur Subdivision.	Behali P. S. ...	1	...	7	8
	Chutia P. S. ...	2	...	8	10
	Gohpur P. S. ...	1	...	5	6
	Tezpur P. S. ...	3	1	16	20
Mangaldai Subdivision.	Kalaigaon P. S. ..	1	...	7	8
	Kariapara O. P. ..	...	1	6	7
	Mangaldai P. S. ...	2	1	15	18
	Paneri P. S. ...	1	1	7	9

TABLE XXI.

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TABLE XXI.

*Jail statistics.*

Tezpur Jail.

		1881.	1891.	1901.
Average daily population	{ Male ... Female ...	142 5	170 17	239 15
Rate of jail mortality per 1,000	...	14	53	31
Expenditure on jail maintenance	... Rs.	12,461	14,437	17,474
Cost per prisoner* (excluding civil prisoners)	...	31	44	41
Profits on jail manufacture	...	6,771	3,745	2,830
Earnings per prisoner ( $\alpha$ ) ...	...	47	21	12

Mangaldai Subsidiary Jail.

	सन्धारण जयने	1881.	1891.	1901.
Average daily population	{ Male ... Female ...	14 1	10 1	17 ...
Rate of jail mortality per 1,000	...	...	98	...
Expenditure on jail maintenance	... Rs.	824	1,057	1,188
Cost per prisoner* (excluding civil prisoners)	...	22	24	51
Profits on jail manufacture	...	1,332	259	94
Earnings per prisoner ( $\alpha$ ) ...	...	98	36	7

\* On rations and clothing.

(a) Calculated on the average number sentenced to labour.

TABLE XXII.

TABLE XXII.  
*Education.*

SECONDARY SCHOOLS,					
<i>High Schools.</i>					
Number	...	1	2		
Number of boys reading in	...	47	54		
School classes.					
Number	...	1	2		
Number of boys reading in Middle	...	67	63		
School classes.					
Number	...	1	2		
Number of boys reading in Primary	...	139	132		
classes.					
<i>Middle English Schools.</i>					
Number	...	1	1		
Number of boys reading in Middle	...	13	17		
School classes.					
Number	...	1	7		
Number of boys reading in Primary	...	99	88		
classes.					
<i>Middle Vernacular Schools.</i>					
Number	...	3	3		

TABLE XXII.

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Number of boys reading in Middle School classes.	33	24	25	24
Number of boys reading in Primary classes.	226	218	186	214
<b>PRIMARY SCHOOLS.</b>				
<i>Upper Primary Schools.</i>				
Number ...	4	3	2	2
Number of boys reading in "Upper Primary classes.	26	15	20	24
Number of boys reading in "Lower Primary classes.	131	97	83	66
<i>Lower Primary Schools.</i>				
Number ...	143	134	129	134
Number of boys reading in three Upper classes.	... (a) 3,831	1,386	1,502	...
Number of boys reading in Lower classes.	... (a) 3,500	2,155	2,140	...
<b>FEMALE EDUCATION</b>				
Number of Girls' Schools	2	3	3	3
Number of girls reading (whether in Girls' or Boys' Schools) in High Schools.	...	...	...	...
Middle English Schools ...	...	...	...	...
Middle Vernacular Schools	...	...	...	...
Upper Primary Schools	...	...	...	...
Lower Primary Schools ...	106	116	144	195

(a) Separate figures not available.

TABLE XXXIII.

TABLE XXXIII.  
*Educational Finance.*

Particulars.	No. of institutions.	EXPENDITURE ON INSTITUTIONS MAINTAINED OR AIDED BY PUBLIC FUNDS IN 1900-01 FROM—				Expenditure per head of scholars.
		Fees.	Other sources.	Total.	Rs.	
Training and Special Schools <i>Secondary Boys' Schools:</i> —	5	699	1,227	... 4,016	684	2,610
Upper (High) ...	1	1,764	... 936	... 436	...	44 3 9
Lower (Middle) ...	4	1,664	... 480	... 111	4,021	25 7 5
<i>Primary Boys' Schools:</i>	...	...	...	...	5,780	11 6 9
Upper ...	4	...	9,190	405	996	7 5 2
Lower ...	143	...	864	688	10,742	3 0 8
Girls' Schools ...	2	...	593	51	194	13 15 5
<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>4,127</b>	<b>12,426</b>	<b>6,027</b>	<b>2,407</b>	<b>24,987</b>
						5 11 7

TABLE XXIV.

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TABLE XXIV.  
Medical.

Particulars.	TEZPUR SUBDIVISION.			MANGALDAH SUBDIVISION.			TOTAL DISTRICT.		
	1881.	1891.	1891.	1891.	1891.	1891.	1891.	1891.	1891.
Number of dispensaries	1	1	4	1	1	6	2	2	10
Daily average number of indoor patients	5.63	16.43	22.20	6.34	5.23	10.40	12.03	21.66	32.60
Daily average number of outdoor patients	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Cases treated	685	26.01	139.09	15.37	18.51	150.92	22.22	44.52	290.91
Operations performed	...	8.04	22.796	3.194	4.147	36.987	3.988	12.191	59.733
Total income	Rs. 2,072	Rs. 7,230	Rs. 10,390	Rs. 1.10 <sup>4</sup>	Rs. 1.40	Rs. 94	Rs. 260	Rs. 176	Rs. 487
Income from Government Rs.	Rs. 798	Rs. 1,383	Rs. 2,375	Rs. 170	Rs. 1425	Rs. 10,671	Rs. 3,176	Rs. 8,655	Rs. 21,061
Income from Local and Municipal Funds	Rs. 298	Rs. 1,690	Rs. 5,246	Rs. 24	Rs. 250	Rs. 4,820	Rs. 322	Rs. 1,930	Rs. 10,066
Subscriptions	Rs. 817	Rs. 1,134	Rs. 667	Rs. 735	Rs. 456	Rs. 402	Rs. 1,552	Rs. 1,590	Rs. 1,669
Total expenditure	Rs. 2,072	Rs. 7,216	Rs. 10,351	Rs. 1,104	Rs. 1,363	Rs. 10,473	Rs. 3,176	Rs. 8,669	Rs. 20,824
Expenditure on establishment Rs.	Rs. 1,104	Rs. 1,873	Rs. 2,962	Rs. 503	Rs. 516	Rs. 2,527	Rs. 1,607	Rs. 2,389	Rs. 5,489
Ratio per mille of persons successfully vaccinated	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Not available.	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. 9.57	Rs. 31.01
Cost per case	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. ...	Rs. 0.10	Rs. 0.37	Rs. 0.10

(a) Figure for 1881-82.

TABLE XV.

TABLE  
*Dispens-*

Name of Dispensary.	1900.		1901.		1902.		1903.		1904.		1905.	
	Total cost. Rs.	Cases treated.										
Tezpur ...	4,892	11,317	5,639	10,776	3,859	11,471	4,109	12,196	3,150	14,510		
Chutia ...	3,886	8,037	1,877	8,748	1,237	9,321	1,291	9,502	1,178	8,743		
Mangaldai	3,659	10,368	3,093	10,520	2,191	10,556	2,042	14,104	1,835	15,550		
Sipajhar,	2,182	13,087	2,192	11,293	1,479	15,971	1,444	19,003	1,616	24,108		
Jaljuli ...	1,441	9,746	1,531	9,360	1,046	9,107	1,191	9,252	1,047	10,423		
Panerihat	2,186	2,968	1,567	3,721	702	3,473	746	3,623	closed.			
Behali ...	...	...	2,328	1,698	2,618	6,091	1,102	7,029	858	6,62		
anibhoral removed to Bali-para in 1904 ...	...	...	507	1,574	1,616	3,711	829	4,321	1,001	4,770		
Kalaigaon	...	...	1,529	798	1,062	3,908	871	7,087	857	7,884		
Rangama-tighat...	...	...	560	1,295	584	5,770	776	9,014	1,146	10,467		
Gohpur ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2,502	4,007		

TABLE XV.

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XXV.  
*saries.*

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सन्यामेव जयते